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The Position of the United States on the American Continent

**By Honorable Francis B. Loomis, First Assistant Secretary of
State; Former Minister to Portugal and Venezuela**

THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT—SOME PHASES OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By HONORABLE FRANCIS B. LOOMIS

First Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Consideration of the political position of the United States on the American continent must inevitably entail some discussion of the Monroe doctrine, for our attitude and interests have largely been evolved and determined by the development of this famous declaration. Fundamentally, the Monroe doctrine is our expression of the national right to self-defence. Sooner or later a doctrine or policy identical in spirit if not in form would have been enunciated even had Monroe and Adams never lived. The Monroe doctrine was not the result of one man's mind and effort, nor the development of one day or of one decade. It grew up slowly and expanded into vigorous being during the first quarter of the last century. The menace of the Holy Alliance and the fact that England's interest in combating its possible operations in the New World were identical with our own made necessary a strong expression from this country and gave to that pronouncement the power and prestige which it instantly achieved. The impending dangers which caused the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine passed away with the dissolution of the Holy Alliance. For many years little or nothing was heard of our so-called policy. When Polk invoked it in 1848 the danger of considerable European aggressions upon this continent had not for a long period caused serious apprehension. There was apparently no talk as there was no question of colonization in the New World by European powers, nor any active attempt on their part to extend their political system to this continent.

In his annual message of December 2, 1845, President Polk, referring to the dispute between this country and Great Britain as to the Oregon territory and to the possible intervention of European powers in consequence of our annexation of Texas, aimed to give to that paragraph of the doctrine dealing with colonization a meaning

popularly but erroneously conveyed by the expression "no more European colonies on this continent," but in using it he restricted its application to North America, saying that "it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North-American continent."

It will here be seen that President Polk gave a new and extended meaning to Monroe's declaration against colonization. He pronounced against the establishment of any dominion on the North-American continent by European power, a term which, of course, includes the acquisition of territory by voluntary transfer or by conquest of colonies or territories already occupied. Three years later President Polk reasserted his doctrine in a special message to Congress, called forth by an Indian depredation in Yucatan which led the authorities to offer to transfer "the dominion and sovereignty to the United States," and at the same time to make a similar offer to Great Britain and Spain. President Polk, in urging the occupation of the territory by the United States, declared that "we could not consent to a transfer of this dominion and sovereignty to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power." This presentation surpassed the Monroe doctrine in all of its parts. The Monroe doctrine was based upon the right of the American states, whose independence we had acknowledged, to dispose of themselves as they saw fit. It was directed against the interposition of European powers and aimed to control their designs against the New World. Mr. Adams, in his graphic, felicitous manner, expressed this notion in his diary, as follows:

"Considering the South Americans as independent nations, they themselves and no other nation had the right to dispose of their condition. We have no right to dispose of them, either alone or in conjunction with other nations. Neither have any other nations the right of disposing of them without their consent."

The doctrine of President Polk, however, forbade the acquisition of dominion in North America, either by voluntary transfer or cession. It is obvious that President Polk, in invoking the Monroe doctrine in the sense in which he sought to apply it, was endeavoring to strengthen his position in respect to annexation which was formidably opposed in some sections of this country.

That his attention and interest were centred upon this feature is indicated by the fact that in 1846 he abandoned his claim to the Oregon territory and agreed to a settlement of the boundary at 49 degrees instead of at the line of "54-40 or fight," to which he had previously announced our title to be unquestionable.¹

Growth of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe doctrine to-day gathers its strength as a vital American policy from the support and life which the power and efficiency of the United States breathes into it. It will have effect and command respect and be carefully considered and weighed just as long as we are in position to back it up with men and guns. This view is not lacking in historical support. In 1862-63, during the gloomy days of our civil war, when the energies of the government were centred in the desperate struggle for the life of the Union, it became evident that France was preparing for activity in Mexico, and that her armies were being used to set up a monarchical form of government, contrary to the wishes and desires of the people of that country. It was not possible for us at that moment to go to war with France; hence we had to content ourselves with a rather mild protest against the aggressive act of the French Emperor. A few years later, however—in 1865—the close of the great war of the rebellion left in this country two vast armies under the leadership of some of the foremost generals of the world. Owing to the fact that this formidable military force could easily have been turned against the invaders in Mexico, it took only a slight hint from Mr. Seward, coupled with a mere allusion to the salient principles of the Monroe doctrine, to cause the immediate withdrawal of the imperial troops from the soil of Mexico, a step which speedily led to the collapse of the exotic monarchical government.

The Case of Santo Domingo.

Again, during the period of our civil war certain Spanish politicians intrigued with the revolutionary party in Santo Domingo, and secured the offer to the Queen of Spain of the sovereignty over that island. Our administration, while it deplored the action of the

¹"The Monroe Doctrine." J. B. Moore.

Spanish government, did not feel itself in position to make a strong or impassioned appeal to the Monroe doctrine, for it knew very well that we could not afford at that moment to quarrel with Spain over the sovereignty of Santo Domingo or any other island.

Mr. Seward said, in his instructions to Mr. Carl Schurz, then Minister to Spain:

"You are authorized and instructed to call the attention of the Spanish government to the subject, and, in such manner as you can adopt without impropriety, urge the necessity of a prompt and satisfactory explanation."

Later our diplomatic representative at Madrid, Mr. Preston, protested in a strenuous fashion against the absorption of the Dominican republic by Spain. His note to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs deserves resurrection from the archives of the Department of State. Said Mr. Preston to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"The government of Her Majesty has declared the Dominican republic reincorporated with the monarchy.

"For forty years the Government of the United States has avowed its determination to resist any attempt to re-establish monarchical power over the republics of the New World, believing it essential to their independence and prosperity as well as to the interests and just rights of the United States to leave them free from all such intervention. It has always declared its intention to show a sacred regard for the remaining possessions of the European powers in America, and it has faithfully fulfilled that pledge. It made this declaration when Spain was torn by civil war and unable to defend her possessions in America against external force or ambition, and it was then acquiesced in, as a rule of justice and a welcome evidence of our friendship. It has manifested its sincerity by effective efforts to repress hostile expeditions against Cuba, and by letting its citizens perish in silence because they attempted to violate the rights of Spain. It has equally resisted any claim on the part of England, though under the color of ancient treaties, to establish any protectorate, found any new colony, or annex new territory in Central America.

"Spain, well knowing this policy, has constantly declared to the United States that it had forever abandoned all thoughts of re-establishing its power over its former possessions in America.

"Rumors having reached the government of the United States that designs existed for the re-annexation of Santo Domingo and Mexico, by means of intrigues with factions in those countries, the undersigned, in October last, demanded from the government an explanation and received the most satisfactory assurances that no thought was entertained of reconquering or re-establishing the power of Spain over her former dominions in America.

"Even within the last month your excellency assured me of the surprise felt by the government of Her Majesty at the events in Santo Domingo, though now, by the exposition of the Council of Ministers which precedes the decree, it appears that the measure has been long meditated and designed, and that Her Majesty, strongly moved by the wishes of the people of Dominica, has only been prevented from yielding to their desire by overpowering reasons of state.

"The exposition of the Council of Ministers does not specify what the reasons of state are which restrained the government of Spain for so many years in refusing to yield to the wishes of the people of Dominica and the Queen, but the coincidence of events shows, and the exposition of the Ministry admits, that they were of overpowering force for many years while my country was strong, rich, and united, and have utterly disappeared within the last month since it has been unhappily involved in civil war.

"The government of the United States felt that from its neighborhood, its commerce, and its power it had a just right to make such demands and receive such assurances.

"England, from its right of vicinity, based upon its possession of Gibraltar, recently demanded and required that Spain, before she would be permitted to make war upon Morocco, should give assurances that no conquest or objectionable annexation of territory should be made. Your excellency yielded to the demand and fulfilled the promise. The commerce of the United States in the Gulf of Mexico is greater by far than that of England in the Mediterranean, its territory indefinitely more vast, and its just right to intervene for the protection of its material interests more direct. We have received assurances equally satisfactory, but within this month they have been utterly violated.

"The annexation of the island professes to be in conformity with the will of the people, and upon this the exposition chiefly relies for support. The facts are that the Spanish troops and vessels were present simultaneously with the declaration of President Santana that the island was transferred to Spain, and that even now the government will have to send half as many troops as there are male inhabitants in the republic to quell the civil war which has broken out to resist the transfer of the republic by its chief. Still greater evils must ensue from the inevitable conflict with the people of Haiti, and the whole island will soon be subjected to the horrors of war. An act to annex the island under such circumstances, after an interval of eighteen days without the recognition of the revolution by any other power—a revolution in which the governors betray the governed and extinguish the government in utter violation of their trust—is termed an evidence of the free and spontaneous will of the people and the result of their unawed suffrages.

"Under these circumstances the undersigned, as the representative of the government of the United States, protests against the seizure of the Dominican republic by Spain and informs your excellency that his government will consider itself free to resist the measure by all the means at its command, considering that Spain does not hold the island by the free will of its people,

but only occupies it without just right by military force. The government of the United States will never consent that Spain shall re-establish her dominion over the republics of the New World by supporting factions or parties within them or attempting to control their destiny. The undersigned declares that his government will never regard the republic of Dominica as a lawful acquisition by Spain, but a mere hostage, betrayed by its friends and seized by a former master, to be released hereafter by any generous hand whenever fortune presents an opportunity.

"The undersigned will communicate the final resolutions of Her Majesty's government to the government at Washington, but a proper sense of the interest and honor of his country compels him to withdraw from Spain until its course of action is decided."

Mr. Seward, on the same subject, addressed this language to the Spanish Minister in Washington:

"The President would not willingly believe that these proceedings have been authorized by your [government], and . . . I inform you in a direct manner that if they should be found to have received the sanction of that government the President will be obliged to regard them as manifesting an unfriendly spirit toward the United States and to meet the further prosecution of enterprises of that kind, in regard to either the Dominican republic or to any part of the American continent or islands, with a prompt, persistent, and, if possible, effective resistance."

It will thus be seen that our representative at Madrid was fully alive to the exigencies of the situation and that he acted with energy and promptness. He was not, however, sustained with equal vigor by the administration, and it does not appear that his note and his action received more than perfunctory approval at Washington. This can be readily understood, for the war cloud, with all its fury, had burst over this country and no one was disposed to give immediate heed to Spain or her operations in Santo Domingo. Before the time arrived in which we were prepared to demand satisfactory explanations from Spain another revolution occurred in the Dominican republic and a democratic form of government was re-established.

Modern European Views of the Monroe Doctrine.

Probably the most startling appeal to the Monroe doctrine was that made by President Cleveland in the case of the boundary dispute between Venezuela and England. There are, of course, two

strongly conflicting opinions as to the wisdom of our course in invoking the Monroe doctrine in the Venezuela boundary case. The view which generally obtained abroad concerning President Cleveland's message was that it was not justified. It was held that England was not trying to control the destiny of Venezuela nor endeavoring to establish new colonies there.

Many persons in this country thought the point at issue was simply a boundary dispute involving questions of geography and history and leading possibly to an ultimate change of ownership of tropical lands sparsely settled and likely to remain so, while it was assumed abroad that Mr. Cleveland expected both parties to the boundary dispute to accept his suggestions concerning arbitration.

Our government at that time seems to have held that through unjust or arbitrary modification of the boundaries of its colonial possessions on the American continent a European state might seriously curtail the territory of an American republic and in this manner gravely affect its destiny.

I do not think it was maintained by Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Olney that Great Britain would be bound to acquiesce in the decision regarding Venezuela's eastern boundary line which the commission appointed by himself might reach. "The sole purpose of that commission," says a partisan of Mr. Cleveland's course, "was to enlighten the conscience of our executive and the American people at large touching the Venezuelan question; whether the British occupation of territory was, as the Venezuelans alleged, purely arbitrary, or whether it was founded in international law and equity. Had the commission reported in favor of the British claim, the United States would have declined to assist Venezuela in repelling British aggression. Only in the event of the commission finding the British claim unfounded should we have felt it our duty to say that Great Britain must choose between arbitration and war."

It may be of interest at this point to note what leaders of modern thought in Europe think of the Monroe doctrine in general and of its application to the Venezuelan boundary case in particular. A distinguished French jurist and writer has recently published a book,² in which he formulates what plainly is the view of Continental Europe in respect to this country and its interpretation of Monroe's policy.

²"*Les Etats-Unis et la Doctrine de Monroe.*" Hector Pétin.

Referring to the Venezuelan boundary dispute he declares that, in this connection, the Monroe doctrine had no bearing; that it had no more concern with the matter at issue than has theology with a question of mathematics. He thinks the enthusiastic reception of President Cleveland's message by a majority of the American people was a wholly ridiculous spectacle, and from the point of view of an international lawyer he finds the state of affairs at the meeting of the Paris tribunal of arbitration to be quite beyond comprehension. The treaty of arbitration, says the author, was an intervention between two states, one of which, it is useless to deny, had no reason whatsoever to figure in the question of arbitration. "It was a discussion of territory under the sovereignty of Venezuela and not under that of the United States. Yet the treaty was made between the latter country and England. In this manner the United States availed itself of a means and a vehicle of justice to put into execution an intervention which was absolutely illegal."

"The precedent," Dr. Pétin declares, "is very important in that it forces Europe to accept arbitration in the adjustment of boundary lines with American states and marks an ominous advance in the development of the Monroe doctrine." The stand taken by the United States in the Anglo-Venezuelan affair, it is extravagantly asserted, if consistently sustained, morally binds the United States to protect all American states and to act as arbitrator, and it is just one more step along this line of development, declares the French author, for the United States, in pursuance of the new interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, to drive European powers entirely out of America. And indeed this last step was taken, the critic thinks, when the United States decided upon intervention in the Cuban war. He naturally shares the continental view of that struggle and is wholly unable to credit the disinterestedness of the United States in espousing the cause of the Cubans, although he is compelled to acknowledge, after much scathing criticism of our course, that legally we had a right to interfere on grounds of humanity. As an outcome of the Cuban war, the acquisition of the Philippines is denounced by the critic as a bold stroke on the part of the United States, beyond the pale of all law and beyond the most extreme application of the Monroe doctrine. Yet in fairness he makes the acknowledgment that the results of the so-called American aggression have been in the interests of good government and of humanity.

Since the days of the Panama congress our French critic sees in the course of the United States and its interpretation of the Monroe doctrine little beyond an exhibition of the utter selfishness of this country. He says the smaller American states were early given to understand that not only were they to abandon all idea of receiving assistance and protection from the United States, but that they might even fear oppression from this country itself.

He finds in the attitude of the United States toward Yucatan a further emphatic example of this new phase of the Monroe doctrine. "In denying to Yucatan the right of its people to dispose of themselves the United States flagrantly violated the principles of international law, and from the early policies of Monroe, 'America for the Americans,' President Polk developed a policy of 'America for the North Americans!'"

I have quoted this last paragraph because it illustrates in a clear and truthful way the opinion respecting the United States and its ultimate purposes held by an intelligent, alert, but small minority in several of the Latin-American countries. This view was made unpleasantly apparent at times during the Spanish-American war, and there seemed to be, in places, a determined effort to create in the minds of uninformed people the fear and belief that the United States meant to set forth upon a policy of conquest which would involve the absorption of all the weaker nations on this hemisphere.

It is just to say, however, that in no instance was this ridiculous, though somewhat widespread, notion ever put forward, sustained, or suggested by any South or Central American government.

"Polk," continues the eminent French critic of the Monroe doctrine, "denied the right of a people to dispose of themselves. All of his successors, imbued with these same ideas, have applied the new doctrine in the same sense, making all bow before the egoistic interests of the United States. The doctrine thus transformed admits of no other interpretation. Just as in ancient times everything gave way before the Roman citizen, and in later times before the British subject, so now must everything give way before the citizen of the United States. In the first two instances imperialism holds sway and in the last Monroeism. To control the economic keys of the world is imperialism; to grasp the economic keys of America is Monroeism. The only difference in the two policies lies in the extent of their respective application. The limit of imperialism is the uni-

verse; the limit of Monroeism is America. The Spanish-Cuban war gave the people of the United States great advantages. Their victories transformed them into a great power. The conference of The Hague did even more. It recognized the Monroe doctrine. And without raising the question of the contradiction between the policy of imperialism pursued in the Philippines and the policy of Monroeism declared at the conference of The Hague, Europe permitted the United States to proclaim, once for all, 'the world and America for the Americans!'

This exposition of the Monroe doctrine which I have just quoted will seem extreme and even fantastic, as no doubt in a sense it is, but nevertheless it represents a view of us and of our policy which is very widely entertained, and as such must be considered and soberly reckoned with. To me it seems more and more essential, as our intercourse with other nations grows, and as our interests more closely touch and affect their interests, that we should earnestly strive to comprehend fully the point of view of every other independent nation upon international matters. It is of importance to know what Europe thinks of the Monroe doctrine and the new meaning given to it from time to time.

Collection of Debts Historically Considered.

The Monroe doctrine is not international law and we have never claimed that it was. It is the fervent expression of an American policy—one that has grown to be part of the life and thought of the nation. Its strength lies, to a considerable extent, in its flexibility and in the wisdom which causes us to refrain from attempting to define it with precision and to draw it within specified metes and bounds. One sentence of President Monroe's message is still a good deal pondered throughout the civilized world. It is this: "But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." The phrase "for the purpose of oppressing them" may involve much of potential danger. Divers constructions

are put upon it, and it is scanned from many points of view. We say it means what it says, or, more precisely, that it conveys the meaning which was given it by Monroe and his colleagues when the message was written. To many thoughtful men south of us it means or seems to mean quite another thing. Certain Latin-American statesmen, men of much erudition and keen intellectual insight, construe this phrase to mean that no coercive measures may be exercised by European or other countries for the purpose of compelling payment of just debts of any sort. Their view of this phase of the Monroe doctrine is held more generally than is supposed. It has very lately been made the basis of important diplomatic correspondence between this country and one of the foremost republics of South America, a republic which, like several of its neighbors, is progressive, liberal, prosperous, and orderly, and which does not seek to evade any just obligations. President Roosevelt has declared upon more than one occasion with admirable lucidity and emphasis that we will not shield any nation from the consequences of wrongdoing. This is his answer and the answer of the American government and people to the suggestion that it is a violation of the Monroe doctrine to employ force against an American republic for the purpose of obtaining respectful consideration of just debts or of redressing real grievances. The only limitation which we put upon this expression is that there shall be no attempt on the part of the coercive power to acquire or permanently to control in any way the territory or destiny of an American republic. There was nothing in President Monroe's declaration to warrant anyone, so far as I can see, in inferring that when he spoke of the oppressing of American governments he referred to the collection of debts. Professor J. B. Moore says the idea that the employment of force to collect debts was contrary to the Monroe doctrine has its origin in Wharton's International Law Digest. In the section entitled "Monroe doctrine" the following sentence occurs:

"The government of the United States would regard with grave anxiety an attempt on the part of France to force by hostile pressure the payment by Venezuela of her debt to French citizens."

The authorities cited for this statement are two alleged instructions written by Mr. Blaine to our Minister at Paris in 1881. The whole matter, however, is incorrectly stated. Both instructions are

published in the volume of foreign relations for that year, and they refer not to hostile pressure, but to a rumored design on the part of France of taking forcible possession of some of the harbors and a portion of the territory of Venezuela in compensation of debts due to citizens of the French republic, and nowhere occurs the erroneous paragraph cited, nor is mention made of the Monroe doctrine. The instructions merely urge that such a proceeding as that reported to be in contemplation would be unjust to other creditors of Venezuela, including the United States, since it would deprive them of a part of their security, and they express the solicitude of the government of the United States "for the object of averting hostilities between two republics for which it feels the most sincere and enduring friendship." It is plain, observes Professor Moore, that this conception of the Monroe doctrine, based upon the erroneous passage in Wharton's Digest, has no actual foundation whatever; and he takes occasion to state in this connection that the British proceedings at Corinto in no way involved either the Monroe doctrine or President Polk's interpretation of it. We have never undertaken to say that European powers should not settle their differences with the American republics by the use of force any more than we ourselves would abjure the right to employ it in extreme cases. In 1861 we made no objections to the demonstrations of the allies against Mexico for the purpose of collecting debts until it became evident that France had an ulterior purpose in her intention, namely, to establish a monarchical form of government.

In 1842 and 1844 Great Britain established a blockade of the port of San Juan, Nicaragua, and in 1851 she put an embargo on the traffic of the port of La Union in Salvador, at the same time declaring the whole country in a state of blockade. In 1862 and 1863 Great Britain seized Brazilian vessels as an act of reprisal. The ports of Mexico were blockaded in 1838 by France to obtain redress for unsatisfied claims. In 1845 ports on the coast of Buenos Ayres were blockaded by France and Great Britain for the purpose of bringing about the independence of Uruguay. For many years, beginning in 1865, Spain was at war with republics on the coast of South America, and the city of Valparaiso was fiercely bombarded by a Spanish fleet. A United States man-of-war in 1831 attacked and dispersed a pirate colony from Buenos Ayres on the Falkland Islands and set at liberty some of our citizens who had been arrested

and detained there for killing seals on the coast. In 1846 we went to war with Mexico; and in 1854 the commander of one of our men-of-war bombarded Greytown, and as a result secured an indemnity of \$24,000 for the seizure and destruction of property, and obtained an apology for an insult to the American minister on the part of some of the inhabitants of the place. After the bombardment, in order to inculcate a lesson never to be forgotten, the naval commander burned all the buildings that were left standing. In 1859 we sent an expedition to obtain redress from Paraguay. In 1890, while the Pan-American Conference was in session, Congress passed an act to authorize the President to use force to collect a claim from Chile, and two years later we sent to that country an ultimatum to which she gave due heed.

Some Recent Discussion.

A French publicist professes to see in President Roosevelt's recent speech at Chicago a further extension of the Monroe doctrine. Attention is directed by the French writer to the word "control" as used by the President when he says "the acquisition of any control is really equivalent to territorial aggrandizement." The French view is that a serious dispute may arise as to the construction to be put upon the seizure of custom-houses of one of the debtor nations by the naval or military forces of a European power for the purpose of assessing or collecting fines or securing payment for just debts long overdue, and concerning which no satisfaction whatsoever can be obtained by ordinary and peaceable methods. It seems not to be generally understood that before Germany and England recently decreed a blockade of Venezuelan ports they sent an ultimatum to Venezuela, moderate in tone, offering to submit all doubtful and unadjudicated claims to arbitration. This request for arbitration, made in good faith, brought forth an evasive answer, an answer that has been made in substance many times before to similar representations, and one in which the element of straightforwardness was said to have been absent. England and Germany did not seize the custom-houses, refraining from this course, to some extent no doubt, in deference to our attitude and wishes. At least nothing bearing a resemblance to territorial occupation occurred.

Had a number of the custom-houses been seized temporarily and

moneys collected for the purpose of paying indemnities imposed by the allies as redress for grievances, no objection could have been taken to such a course by our government. The Monroe doctrine would not have been violated. But had the allies in Venezuela attempted to hold custom-houses, until all foreign claims of whatsoever nature had been satisfied and paid from customs receipts, it is quite safe to say that there might have resulted a good deal of popular anxiety in this country and very keen interest on the part of the government itself.

As money is thought to be the root of all evil, so it is one of the mainsprings of governmental activity, and no country can long exist without it. If a European nation, or a number of European nations acting together, were to take over and administer the customs and finances of a Latin-American country, contrary to the desire and will of its government, it would not require keen foresight to predict that in a few months the destiny of the country whose customs were being administered through foreign interposition would be in a large measure controlled by the agents of the alien creditors. In this wise, then, there might be evolved a situation fraught with danger to the peace of the world and full of menace to the spirit of the Monroe doctrine.

But we cannot deepen the meaning nor widen the scope of the Monroe doctrine without proportionately increasing our own responsibilities. The time may ultimately come when we shall have either to abandon some of our views respecting the Monroe doctrine or fight for them, and if I read aright the present disposition of the American people they will be slow to abandon any position they have taken in their international policy. Therefore, it behooves us to consider the Monroe doctrine in our most serious vein and to examine with scrupulous care every indication pointing to a change in its application and interpretation.

Problems of the Future.

The future is pregnant with embarrassing possibilities. Up to the present time we have been too busy to do more than to guess at the potential dangers that confront us. Our government wisely attempts to cross no bridges before it reaches them. Yet its leaders scan the horizon and they are not blind to some of the problems the

future may hold. Suppose, to make concrete a single example, the recently much-discussed Acre territory, between Brazil and Bolivia, had been strong enough firmly to establish an independent government; suppose, then, the people of that state had invited one of the continental powers to send a governor-general to rule it as a colony, or as a protected state under the dominion of a European monarch; suppose, too, that the people of Acre, or a very large majority of them, ardently desired this transfer of sovereignty or dominion, and that it were to take place. What then would be the position and attitude of the United States?

Take another example: Suppose Venezuela, under the stress of poverty, were to sell or lease for a large and wholly satisfactory price the island of Marguerita to France for a period of ninety years, would we maintain that Venezuela was not within her sovereign rights in selling or alienating a portion of her territory if she so chose? Or, leaving Venezuela, let us suppose, if you please, that some more potent Latin-American nation decided to lease important islands or harbors to European powers for naval or coal-ing stations, and we determined to resist the execution of the lease, sale, or transfer. Should we not, in all probability, find our pretensions vigorously combated by two armed foes, each denying, from different points of view, our right to invoke the Monroe doctrine? Even these briefly suggested examples suffice to illumine the wide field of danger that may open before us when we shall attempt radically to alter the present meaning, scope or force of the Monroe doctrine.

Hostility to the Monroe Doctrine.

You are doubtless aware that at this moment there is in the United States a small but earnest band of opponents to the idea of further extension of the Monroe doctrine. This opposing point of view can not justly be excluded from a serious and honest consideration of the subject as a whole, no matter how little one may be in sympathy with it. Those who describe themselves as opponents of the Monroe doctrine profess to think the formulated policy of Monroe, as such, has had its day; they believe that no European country harbors the smallest design of obtaining sovereignty over any part of Central or North America, and that there is nowhere any disposition

to interfere with republican government in the new hemisphere. In short, the disciples of this school sincerely believe that we are in as little danger from European aggression as Europe is in danger of attack from the United States. They declare, and not without reason, that the democratic form of government is more likely to spread throughout Europe than is monarchical government to gain a foothold in the New World. So they say, "Let us abandon the Monroe doctrine in so far as it means anything more than our inherent right to self-defence and preservation; let us leave our neighbors south of the Caribbean Sea to their own defence and destiny; let us not be a dog in the manger and try to prevent the development and settlement in South America of great colonies by European immigrants."

It is eloquently urged that enormous advantages would accrue to our commerce and export trade in South America were those countries to receive in the next twenty-five years ten or fifteen millions of settlers or colonists from the Old World. South America is thinly peopled. Nearly a century of fierce domestic warfare has impoverished several of its countries and repelled both foreign immigration and foreign capital. In consequence of this unhappy condition, which in some instances shows no signs of favorable change, the progress of certain of these countries is arrested, civilization halts, and the reign of bloodshed and anarchy continues. Their markets to-day are of slight importance to the world, because there is little money with which to buy and few people to make purchases. Let Holland, England, Germany or other European countries have free access to South America and enough control merely to secure peace and careful administration of the government finances, then countries that have for centuries been given up to devastating war will be transformed into vast producing and consuming communities. Foreign capital and immigrants would pour into them; their vast resources would be developed; the soil, the forests, the mines, the pastures and prairies, the power of the great waterfalls, would all be utilized; new and mighty markets for the surplus products of the factories and farms of the United States and Europe would be created; and, better than all this, the people would rise to a new life—they would be uplifted, redeemed and regenerated by the irresistible genius of established peace and its concurrent civilization.

Is not this our true course of action, it is asked? "Would it not be better for all concerned were we to follow these lines? Why leave these people to walk in darkness! Why interpose the Monroe doctrine between them and this vision of a substantial and splendid destiny! Why subject for another century the unhappy people of certain countries, a majority of whom would welcome any government that promises stability, to the desperate existence they now lead under the dominion of military dictators! Why maintain the deplorable sham and shadow of republican government, when we all know that the reality never even existed! It has been a mere pretense from the beginning; the people have never governed themselves. They have been misgoverned in spite of themselves. We are proposing to make greater the Monroe doctrine for the sake of republics which in reality do not exist and which every intelligent man knows do not exist. Is it not about time to end the farce? What has our attitude of benevolent protection and our long effort at cultivating warmer and closer relations with certain of our sister republics accomplished for the world and for humanity?

"What is the record of desirable, specific achievement? No one affirms that we have made life sweeter or better worth the living in any of the Latin-American countries. We have not caused order to prevail nor the arts and sciences to flourish. We have not caused settlers to come, the forests to be conquered, nor the soil to be tilled. Judged by our standard of living and education, some of these republics are just where they were centuries ago, when the Spaniard ruled them for his own profit and pleasure."

This is the iconoclastic view of the Monroe doctrine, and I dare say we shall hear more of it. The people who hold it would have the United States government police parts of Central America and, in a military and naval sense, the Caribbean Sea, and then give no further heed whatsoever to the world south of its uttermost shores. Let us be paramount, with due regard to our neighbors in Mexico and Canada, from Alaska to the equator, and then let us think no more about South America and its relations to the rest of the world, say the opponents of the Monroe doctrine.

In spite of the reasons set forth by Americans and Europeans who think this government ought to abandon the Monroe doctrine, or at least to modify its application, this old policy seems more firmly intrenched in the hearts of the people of the country to-day than it

ever was, and nowhere is there evidence of immediate or widespread change of attitude respecting it.

Our position is described at times as paramount or supreme on this hemisphere, and in a commercial sense at least we may without vanity affirm this to be true. There is no doubt about our power and the place we occupy among the nations of the New World any more than there is about the respect we command in the councils of the Old World; but fortunately our position of supremacy on this hemisphere does not rest wholly upon military power or possible exhibitions of force. The policy of the United States, its attitude toward the Latin-American republics, is one of helpfulness and kindly interest. Our rule of action in respect to them is, as Mr. Hay has happily said, the golden rule. We have been generous, tolerant and sympathetic in the past, and we intend to pursue this line of conduct in the future. We have responded cordially to appeals from certain countries upon more than one occasion. We have spent many millions of dollars in protecting our own citizens in turbulent countries. We have, following the dictates of humanity, given asylum to many distinguished Latin-American citizens, rescuing them from political foes, and we have sheltered and protected hundreds of helpless women and children and transferred them on our war vessels to ports of safety. We have charted harbors, made expensive soundings, and established buoys in the interest of navigation, and we have endeavored to improve sanitary conditions in many ways and in many ports. From some of the citizens in these countries we have received encouragement, assistance, intelligent appreciation and cordial approval.

On behalf of a southern republic we flung down a challenging gauntlet before one of the mightiest nations the world has known, and volunteered to take the risk of war with its dire consequences at a time when we were ill-prepared for defensive or offensive operations. The outcome, however, was fortunate in that instead of a retrograding war the progressive principle of arbitration was evoked and further strengthened.

These things that we have done show our good-will and our unselfish purposes. We have respected the law and sovereignty of every government when it was possible to do so. We have tried to help those who are our friends in Central and South America, and who wanted our help, to become strong and efficient common-

wealths. We want them to attain great prosperity and power. We wish all of our neighbors well, and we want them to be plenteously endowed with the blessings of peace. No republic to the south of us can become too rich or too self-sustaining to suit the kindly purposes of this country. We want everywhere the spirit of genuine liberty to be alive among the people. We want to feel that they are profiting by what is good, noble and true in our national life. In this sense we hope to be paramount. We want all of the American republics to know that honest toil is dignified and ennobling. We want them to entertain a spirit of toleration in all matters and to understand that in union there is strength, and to know, too, that the genius of our civilization is individual development and endeavor. We want the ideas of civil and religious liberty and free education to have wide scope and abundant appreciation. We desire all of our Latin-American friends heartily to join us in supporting, urging and vitalizing the principle of international arbitration.

In these peaceful ways we may endeavor to Americanize the New World and perhaps the Old, not by the conquering power of the almighty dollar, not by manifestations of force, but rather by the dissemination of those lofty, civilizing agencies, those great principles, those fine ideals, those spiritual forces upon which our country was founded and upon which it has lived and had its being.

II. Relation of the Latin-American Countries with Each Other

Ethnic Factors in South America

By Talcott Williams, LL.D., Philadelphia

ETHNIC FACTORS IN SOUTH AMERICA

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL. D.

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South America and North America are of nearly equal area, one 17,813,950 square kilometres and the other 19,810,200 square kilometres.¹ The equator runs not far from midway between them, though it crosses South America nearly a thousand miles south of its northern point. A very general impression in regard to both these divisions is that, while South America has the larger share of tropical lands, they both extend into the temperate zone and both are perpetually balanced against each other, as offering not dissimilar conditions. South America has a Spanish-American population and North America an English-American population for the greater share of its area. One has drawn its immigrant population in the past and during the present century from North Europe, and the other from South Europe. When men contrast the stability of government in North America as compared with its instability in Central and South America, there is in much popular and some technical discussion on the subject from either the historical or political standpoint, a general disposition to assume that the contrast is due to the superior capacity at self-government of the English-speaking as compared with the Spanish-speaking race. This overlooks altogether the definite, fundamental, geographical and ethnical facts in these two continents.

Instead of being similarly situated north and south of the tropics, the great mass of North America falls in a climate which encourages effort; while the great mass of South America falls in a climate which discourages it. One is essentially a temperate and the other a tropical continent. Neither parallels of latitude, near what are loosely called the tropics, definitely decide conditions of climate, either with reference to temperature, to rainfall or atmospheric

¹ Wagner und Supan. *Die Bevölkerung der Erde*, viii, 1891, p. xiii. In general, the figures in this article for population and area are drawn from this series.

saturation, which is more important than the aggregate of either of the other factors in its effect on the human type. At the same time, the parallel of 30° north latitude runs close to New Orleans, and of 30° south latitude which runs just north of the upper edge of Uruguay, dividing the Brazilian province of Rio Grande Do Sul, between the parts which have attracted German immigration and those which have not, may freely be said to separate regions in which tropical conditions overbalance temperate and those in which temperate conditions overbalance tropical. In the same way, the parallel of 50° of north latitude, which runs through Winnipeg, has below it everything which is likely soon to sustain a large population, and it is also the parallel which falls just above the end of South America. Large parts of North America above 50° will never be inhabited in Labrador, but large parts of this tract on the Pacific are certain to have a large population in the future and some tracts in Alaska balancing Labrador. The North-American continent has between the fiftieth and the thirtieth parallel of north latitude, one-half or 46.03 per cent of its area, or 9,118,635 square kilometres out of 19,810,200. In South America, on the other hand, out of a total area of 17,813,950 square kilometres, only one-eighth, 13.685 per cent, or 2,437,835 square kilometres, is between the thirtieth and fiftieth parallel. In other words, fully seven-eighths of South America is essentially tropical, while of North America only a little over one-half is either too cold or too hot to develop and maintain a stable civilization. Of South America, 77.115 per cent is north of the Tropic of Capricorn, or over three-quarters. Of North America, only a fourteenth or 6.96 is south of the Tropic of Cancer. South America has less than a fourth out of the tropics and North America thirteen-fourteenths. A large part of the area of North America south of the thirtieth parallel is also at the high average elevation of Mexico, considerably mitigating its geographical position; while South America, of all the world's continents, has the lowest average elevation; and in spite of the great range of mountains which runs along its western coast, has a larger tropical area nearer the surface of the ocean, the bed of a vast cretaceous sea, than any other tract of the earth's lands. North America is a continental region which has been slowly built up from the earliest paleozoic time over a broad determined and differentiated area; while South America represents instead the recent emergence of a great chain of mountains flanked

by the immense plain which stretches from the mouth of the Orinoto to the mouth of the LaPlata. Over all of this very slight changes of level would alter the course of streams. On it, so flat and level is the region, great masses of water stand at periods of flood, and a continuous water communication exists for months together at such a time from the Caribbean Sea to the South Atlantic.²

This geographical contrast is no less than the ethnic difference between the two continents. North America consists of a total population of about 90,000,000, in which at least 75,000,000 are white. South America has a population of some 40,000,000, in which it may be seriously doubted if over 8,000,000 are to-day of pure white blood. If the division be taken between the Spanish and English Americans, the disproportion will remain the same. From the Rio Grande, north over North America, there stretches a population to-day of about 81,000,000, in which the Indian is less than the delinquent and dependent population of three of our large states; while the negro population of about 9,000,000 constitutes the only bar to homogeneous ethnic conditions, and is but one-ninth of the whole. In South America, on the other side, the population is to-day from one-half to three-quarters Indian, with a white population not over one-fifth. What is really taking place in North America is that a white population, drawn from the most developed and prosperous countries of North Europe, is adapting, with more error and blunder than one could wish, familiar institutions to new conditions. What is taking place in South America is that a small white Spanish-speaking population, under odds of five or six to one, is endeavoring, in a region still containing either an aboriginal population or the mixed descendants of this population of negro slaves and of white half-breeds, to maintain and advance the civilization, the institutions and the traditions—many of them of the highest value to humanity—of the Latin races of South Europe.

It is a gross injustice if, in the comparative discussion of institutions, of national progress, and of civic stability in North and South America, these ethnic differences are not perpetually borne in mind and constantly considered.

Approximate statements are the utmost which can be ventured

² This distribution of area is of course only approximate, though the error is small. It has been ascertained by the familiar process of weighing the parts of a map traced on paper of even thickness.

in regard to South America in any ethnic demographic study. Its area, 6,803,570 square miles, is more thinly settled with its population of 40,000,000 than any other part of the earth's surface. It carries, as Dr. Siever's maps^a show, the largest unexplored and uncrossed area on the globe outside of Australia and the Antarctic Continent. Outside of Chile, Argentina and Mexico, no census is more than an approximate estimate. In only the first of these countries are returns accurate. Terminology varies in different countries. A common classification and definition of mixed bloods exists between no two. Brazil, there is every reason to believe, has been of late stationary in population. Paraguay has a mere fraction of the inhabitants of half a century ago. Bolivia is probably stationary. Peru's increase is doubtful. In all these countries there is strong temptation to make neither estimates nor enumeration, and the last census in Brazil has been suppressed.

What is true of South America proper is true also of the entire Spanish-American region. Words deceive. In international relations, in current estimates of trade, and in the concepts of the public and of publicists, the Spanish-American region is treated as if it were similar, homogeneous and Spanish, not to say Latin. It is none of these things. These countries vary from Cuba, where two-thirds of the population is white, to Mexico where a fifth is of this character, to lands like Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia where from 5 to 10 per cent is white. In Brazil, where the term white is loosely applied, some two-fifths, 42 per cent, is claimed as white in the census. In Argentina the proportion is still larger. In Chile there is a homogeneous population created by the full union of Spanish and Indian, the proportion varying in different ranks.

All Spanish-American countries grew through the eighteenth century. Since then they divide themselves into two classes with reference to growth; Mexico and Cuba in the north, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay in the south, have steadily grown. Grave doubt exists whether most of those between are at present or have for half a century increased in population. Paraguay lost a round 1,000,000 of its 1,258,000 during the Lopez wars. In some of these, the uncertain stability of order restricts growth. In others, as Brazil and Peru, causes not clearly apparent are at work. The North-American assumption of steady growth cannot be applied to tropical Spanish

^a *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1900. Tafel xi.

America. The varying white population bears a close relation to the stability of administration. Cuba, which has the largest white proportion, no Indians, and the largest negro population, has a stable base for order. Mexico, with 19 per cent white, 43 per cent mixed and 38 per cent Indian, has for nearly a quarter of a century had a strong and stable government. This can scarcely be said until we reach Brazil and Peru, and scarcely of them. Argentina and Chile are as stable as Mexico and Cuba, and the proportion of white blood is larger in the former. Costa Rica is the least turbulent of Central-American states, and it has 10 per cent white. Compare this with Nicaragua, where the amount is trivial. If Brazil maintains stability over a wide area, it is because its white population is largest. If Venezuela, Colombia and Central America do not, it is because white population is smallest.

The source of the white population of Spanish America greatly varies. Cuba draws a steady immigration, largely Catalanian. Brazil is the only country to which immigration was constant in the colonial period. It came from Portugal and Galicia, with results apparent in type and temperament; and this immigration, as in the sixteenth century in Portugal, took kindly to both negro and Indian amalgamation. Venezuela early drew from the Basques, and President Castro reproduces a Basque type. Chile had its early immigration from the Biscayan provinces, and reflects their energetic and warlike temperament. Peru, it is said, drew from Andalusia. Pizarro came to Peru from north of Andalusia in Central Spain, from Estremadura. The Moors of Andalusia gave Argentina its double types of character, early taking to the horse and yet organizing rule over wide areas. Few sequences in history are more remarkable than that which brought to Chile the descendants of the Goth of North Spain and to Argentina the descendant of the Moor and Andalusian from South Spain, and pitted them against each other in a long struggle for supremacy in the new continent, a struggle which on both sides has reproduced many of the characteristic qualities of the earlier contest. These hints of origin are at best traditional. Yet it is clear, that Portugal has affected Brazil, Catalonia Cuba, the Basque provinces Venezuela, South Spain Argentina and Peru, and North Spain Chile, a fact which played its part in 1879-1881. Patient inquiry into the Spanish origin of Spanish-American population remains to be made, and Spain, it must be remembered, differs over its area more than other European countries.

The negro, in spite of a general impression to the contrary, is almost absent from the larger part of Spanish America. There are twice, perhaps thrice as many negroes in this country as in all Spanish America. They monopolize the field in Hayti and San Domingo, and are a third the total in Cuba. In Brazil negroes number over 2,000,000, more than in all the rest of Central and South America put together. Peru has 92,000 and Venezuela 50,000. In the latter the same arrest of population has fallen upon the negro as the white. The Indian population has disappeared in North America. He outnumbers the white in Spanish America; in most of its tropical lands five or six to one. In Argentina and Chile a great admixture of blood has come. The Araucanian is on the whole the best of South-American stock, and it has blended with the white to the great benefit of Chile. Argentina has a river Indian Guarani and Calchaqui, and a plains Indian from whom comes the Guacho, both a poor stock for its metis, as is apparent in its history. Brazil's river population is of a type which had made no progress, and the same race stretches into Venezuela and Colombia, having probably come from the north or Carib race. In no one of these has the Indian produced substantive results in rule or industry. The docile industrial race, Quicha, which made Inca culture possible, has given Peru the labor with which its great railroad was built and its early rapid mining development secured. In a measure this is true of Ecuador, where the same race exists, less pure. The Maya, the keenest of Indian races since the conquest, has apparently had no part in post Colombian effects. The Aztec has given Juarez half the ancestors of Diaz, and colored and aided Mexican life. The bulk of what is loosely called Spanish-American is really Indian. The war-like Araucanians, the less developed plains Indian of Argentina, the backward river stocks of the Amazon and the Orinoco, of similar type, the industrious Quicha in Peru, with the Aztec, the only Indian except the Iroquois capable of predatory empire, as distinguished from the Inca's industrial slavery, have plainly colored all South American lands. Nor is it without its interest that as Europe has had its long-headed race on the northern plains and a round-headed Alpine race in its mountains, so in South America the plains Indian has been long-headed and the more industrious mechanic race of the Andes is round-headed.

In Chile half its population is in cities, 1,240,353 urban

against 1,471,792 rural; this but reflects the Aúraucanian capacity for the pueblo. In Argentina, a scattered aboriginal has brought a scattered metis population. In general the half-breed fills the city. In Guatemala, half the Landinos or white half-breeds are in cities. In general organization, Spanish America may be said to consist of a small directing white population in its city centres, an industrial half-breed race and a rural Indian population, with a background of tribes still savage. The independence of these countries began with the American-Spanish families revolting from the tyranny of royal governors, a tyranny which at length wore out Cuban loyalty. This early revolt and revolution for independence was succeeded by half-breed risings and strokes for power. Government to the end remains in Spanish hands, with here and there an exception as in Mexico.

Imperfect as this sketch is, it is presented because I know no place where an attempt has been made to correlate these facts or to collect a general statement of the effect of race in South America.

The Application of the Principle of International Arbitration on the American Continents

By Honorable John Bassett Moore, Professor of International Law, Columbia University

APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS

BY HON. JOHN BASSETT MOORE

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According to present practice, the redress of national grievances may be pursued, first, by amicable methods; and, secondly, by force. Of amicable methods the most common is negotiation. There is nothing more conducive to the settlement of differences than a fair and candid discussion of them. Where this fails, we may yet try arbitration or mediation.

These methods are often discussed as if they were practically the same, but in reality they are fundamentally different. Mediation is an advisory, arbitration a judicial, function. Mediation recommends, arbitration decides. While nations might for this reason accept mediation in various cases in which they might be unwilling or reluctant to arbitrate, it is also true that they have often settled by arbitration questions which mediation could not have adjusted.

It is, for example, hardly conceivable that the question of the Alabama claims could have been settled by mediation. The same thing may be said of many and indeed of most of the great number of boundary disputes that have been settled by arbitration. The importance of mediation as a form of amicable negotiation should not be minimized. The Congress of Paris of 1856, as well as the Congo Conference of 1884, made a declaration in favor of the practice of mediation; and a formal plan of mediation forms part of the convention lately adopted at The Hague for the settlement of international disputes. Nevertheless, mediation is merely a diplomatic function and offers nothing new.

Arbitration, on the contrary, represents a principle as yet only occasionally acted upon, namely, the application of law and of judicial methods to the determination of disputes between nations. Its object is to displace war between nations as a means of obtaining national redress, by the judgments of international judicial tribunals;

just as private war between individuals, as a means of obtaining personal redress, has, in consequence of the development of law and order in civilized states, been supplanted by the processes of municipal courts.

In discussing the subject of arbitration we are therefore to exclude from consideration, except as a means to that end, mediation, good offices or other forms of negotiation. Our present subject—the application of the principle of international arbitration on the American continents—may be discussed in two aspects: (1) That of efforts to establish the general principle of arbitration, and (2) that of the actual trials of the principle.

One of the declared objects of the Panama Congress of 1826 was to promote the peace and union of American nations, and to establish amicable methods for the settlement of disputes between them; but, as is well known, the congress failed to accomplish this design. The project, however, was not wholly abandoned. It appealed too strongly to the imagination to be readily forgotten; and in 1831 Mexico revived it, by proposing a conference of American republics for the purpose of bringing about not only a union and close alliance for defence, but also the acceptance of “friendly mediation” for the settlement of disputes between them, and the framing and promulgation of a code of public law to regulate their mutual relations. This was not a proposal of a scheme of arbitration; but it may be observed that the adoption of a code of public law to govern the relations of nations would remove one of the greatest obstacles to the successful operation of a permanent tribunal for the decision of international differences.

In 1847 there assembled at Lima a congress composed of representatives of Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada and Peru. The avowed object of this meeting was the formation of an alliance of American republics for the purpose of “maintaining their independence, sovereignty, dignity and territorial integrity, and of entering into such other compacts as might be conducive to their common welfare.” At the first session of the congress it was decided to extend an invitation to the United States; but it is altogether probable that this resolution was taken with a view to bring to the attention of the United States the object of the conference, rather than with any hope that the invitation would be accepted. In reality the United States was then at war with Mexico, and was not in a

position to lend the weight of its influence to the preservation of the principle of territorial integrity. For a number of years after the Congress of 1847, efforts for union among American nations seem to have been confined to the Spanish-American republics, and in no small measure to have been inspired by a feeling of apprehension towards the United States, excited not only by the Mexican War, but also by filibustering expeditions, such as those of William Walker, against Mexico and the states of Central America. This feeling led to the making of the "Continental Treaty" of 1856 between Chile, Ecuador and Peru.

January 11, 1864, the Peruvian government invited the Spanish nations of America to take part in another congress at Lima, with a view to "organize into one family" the several republics of Spanish origin. Among the particular subjects specified for the consideration of the proposed congress was the adoption of measures which should lead to the amicable settlement of boundary disputes, which were declared to be in nearly all the American states the cause of international quarrels, of animosities, and even of wars as disastrous to the honor as to the prosperity of the nations concerned; and to this was added the explicit proposal "irrevocably to abolish war, superseding it by arbitration, as the only means of compromising all misunderstandings and causes for disagreement between any of the South-American republics." The congress met at Lima, November 14, 1864, the anniversary of the birth of Bolivar. Representatives were present from the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru and Venezuela.

September 3, 1880, a convention was signed at Bogota between the governments of Chile and Colombia, by which the two republics bound themselves "in perpetuity to submit to arbitration, whenever they cannot be settled through diplomatic channels, all controversies and difficulties, of whatever nature, that may arise between the two nations." It was also stipulated that the contracting parties should endeavor, at the earliest opportunity, to conclude similar conventions with other American nations, "to the end that the settlement by arbitration of each and every international controversy should become a principle of American public law." On the strength of the signature of this convention, the Colombian minister of foreign relations, October 11, 1880, extended to the governments of America an invitation to appoint representatives to meet at Panama with full

powers to give to the convention full international effect. This invitation was necessarily rendered nugatory by the continuance of the Chile-Peruvian war. November 29, 1881, however, Mr. Blaine, as secretary of state of the United States, extended, in the name of the President, an invitation to all the independent countries of North and South America to participate in a general congress to be held in Washington on the twenty-fourth of November, 1882, "for the purpose of considering and discussing methods of preventing war between the nations of America." Mr. Blaine added that the President desired that the attention of the congress should be "strictly confined to this one great object." On the ninth of August, 1882, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Blaine's successor, gave notice that the President was constrained to postpone the projected meeting till some future day. As one of the grounds for this action he stated that the peaceful condition of the South-American republics, which was contemplated as essential to a profitable and harmonious assembling of the congress, did not exist. The original proposal, however, was never entirely relinquished; and on May 28, 1888, the President gave his approval to the act under which was convoked the International American Conference of 1889-1890. Of this conference one of the results was the celebrated plan of arbitration adopted April 18, 1890. By this plan it was declared that arbitration, as a means of settling disputes between American republics, was adopted "as a principle of American international law"; that arbitration should be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, territories, indemnities, the right of navigation and the validity, construction and enforcement of treaties; and that it should be equally obligatory in all other cases, whatever might be their origin, nature or object, with the sole exception of those which, in the judgment of one of the nations involved in the controversy, might imperil its independence; but that, even in this case, while arbitration for that nation should be optional, it should be "obligatory upon the adversary power." As yet this plan represents but an aspiration, since it failed to receive the approval of the governments whose representatives adopted it.

In connection with the plan just described, it is essential to recall the deliberations of the conference on the subject of conquest, which bore, in its final disposition, a vital relation to the plan of arbitration. The delegates of the Argentine Republic and Brazil offered,

January 15, 1890, a series of resolutions, the eighth article of which reads as follows: "Acts of conquest, whether the object or the consequence of the war, shall be considered to be in violation of the public law of America."

The resolutions were referred to the committee on general welfare, which, April 18, 1890, recommended the adoption of the following declarations:

"1. That the principle of conquest shall never hereafter be recognized as admissible under American public law.

"2. That all cessions of territory made subsequent to the present declaration shall be absolutely void if made under threats of war or the presence of an armed force.

"3. Any nation from which such cessions shall have been exacted may always demand that the question of the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

"4. Any renunciation of the right to have recourse to arbitration shall be null and void whatever the time, circumstances, and conditions under which such renunciation shall have been made."

These declarations were subscribed by three members of the committee respectively representing the Argentine Republic, Bolivia and Venezuela. Three other members representing Colombia, Brazil and Guatemala stated that they adopted only the first of the declarations.

Mr. Varas, a delegate from Chile, stated that the delegation from that country would abstain from voting or taking part in the debate on the resolutions.

Mr. Henderson, a delegate from the United States, offered, as expressing the views of the United States delegation, the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference, wars waged in the spirit of aggression or for the purpose of conquest should receive the condemnation of the civilized world; therefore

"Resolved, That if any one of the nations signing the treaty of arbitration proposed by the conference, shall wrongfully and in disregard of the provisions of said treaty, prosecute war against another party thereto, such nation shall have no right to seize or hold property by way of conquest from its adversary."

After a long discussion, in which the delegate from Peru supported the recommendation of the committee as a whole, the report

was adopted by a majority of 15 to 1. The delegations voting affirmatively were Hayti, Nicaragua, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, Argentine Republic, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Brazil, Honduras, Mexico, Bolivia, Venezuela, Salvador and Ecuador. The United States voted in the negative while Chile abstained from voting.

Further discussion then took place, after which a recess was held in order that an agreement might be arrived at which would secure the vote of the United States delegation. On the session being resumed, Mr. Blaine presented the following plan:

"1. That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

"2. That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void if made under threats of war or the presence of an armed force.

"3. Any nation from which such cessions shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

"4. Any renunciation of the right to arbitration made under the conditions named in the second section shall be null and void."

The conference unanimously agreed to accept this as a substitute for the former report, Chile abstaining from voting. But, as the plan of arbitration never became effective, the declaration against conquest, which was made an integral part of it, can now be cited only as an expression of opinion.

In the Second International Conference of American States, which was held at the city of Mexico from October 22, 1901, to January 31, 1902, the subject of arbitration was much discussed. There appeared to be a unanimous sentiment in favor of "arbitrations as a principle," but a great contrariety of opinion as to the extent to which the principle should be carried. On this question three views were supported in the conference:

"1. Obligatory arbitration, covering all questions pending or future, when they did not affect either the independence or national honor of a country;

"2. Obligatory arbitration, covering future questions only and defining what questions shall constitute those to be excepted from arbitration; and

"3. Facultative or voluntary arbitration, as best expressed by The Hague convention."

The delegation of the United States advocated the signing of a protocol affirming the convention for the pacific settlement of inter-

national disputes, signed at The Hague, July 29, 1899, as the best practicable plan for securing unanimity of action and beneficial results.

A plan was finally adopted in the nature of a compromise. A protocol looking to adhesion to The Hague convention was signed by all the delegations except those of Chile and Ecuador, who are said, however, afterwards to have accepted it in open conference. By this protocol authority was conferred on the governments of the United States and Mexico, the only American signatories of The Hague convention, to negotiate with the other signatory powers for the adherence thereto of other American nations so requesting. Besides, the President of Mexico was requested to ascertain the views of the different governments represented in the conference regarding the most advanced form in which a general arbitration convention could be drawn up that would meet the approval and secure the ratification of all the countries in the conference, and afterwards to prepare a plan for such a general treaty and if possible to arrange for a series of protocols to carry it into effect; or, if this should be found to be impracticable, then to present the correspondence with a report to the next conference.

A project of a treaty of compulsory arbitration was signed by the delegations of the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Santo Domingo, Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Besides the protocol and project of treaty above referred to, a project of treaty was adopted covering the arbitration of pecuniary claims. This project was signed by the delegations of all the countries represented in the conference. Under it the several republics obligated themselves for a period of five years to submit to the court at The Hague all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which might be presented by their respective citizens, and which could not be amicably adjusted through diplomatic channels, when such claims were of sufficient importance to warrant the expense of arbitration. Should both parties prefer it, a special jurisdiction might be organized according to Article xxi of The Hague convention. By Article v the project is to be binding on the states ratifying it from the date on which five of the signatories have so ratified it.

Such have been the efforts on the part of American nations to concert among themselves a plan for the settlement of their dif-

ferences by arbitration. The fact that these efforts have not yet resulted in the effective establishment of a definite and permanent system, to which all American nations may look with confidence, as a sure and ready means of avoiding armed conflicts, is due, not to any lack of serious purpose, but to the inherent difficulties of the task. The American nations, though they have felt a common impulse to act together in safeguarding their independence against attacks from other quarters, have not been unconscious of the existence among themselves of strong diversities of interest and of ambition. To these diversities are to be ascribed some of the conflicts that have marked their history during the past eighty years. Another fruitful source of strife has been the unsettled condition that has often prevailed in their internal politics. A slight familiarity with history suffices to show that the preservation of international peace is to a great extent dependent upon the preservation of domestic peace. Civil disturbances not only produce exceptional measures, which in turn give rise to complaints and claims, but they render uncertain the performance of international engagements and sometimes necessitate the readjustment of international relations. Against difficulties such as these American statesmen and diplomatists, in endeavoring to establish a system of arbitration, have been obliged to contend; and if their highest aspirations yet remain to be fulfilled, they have at least promulgated an ideal and projected it into the domain of practical statesmanship.

Turning from plans for the establishment of a general system, to the consideration of the cases in which the principle of arbitration has actually been employed, we find that there were during the past century eighty-four international arbitrations to which an American nation was a party. In forty, or nearly one-half, of these the other party was a European power, the arbitration between American nations being forty-four. To about two-thirds of these the United States was a party, the number of arbitrations between other American powers being fourteen. Of this number, there were ten that related to questions of boundary. In respect of such questions, one of the objects of the Lima conference of 1864 may therefore be said to have been in a measure attained. It is proper, however, to point out that in the settlement of boundary disputes by arbitration, there is nothing distinctively American. The same method has repeatedly been employed by European powers, both in Europe and elsewhere,

for the termination of similar controversies. Indeed, we should not forget that, while others were discussing arbitration, it remained for a European ruler to take the initiative in the movement that resulted in the actual establishment of the first general and permanent plan for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. On the other hand, the first powers to resort to The Hague Tribunal were two American nations, the United States and Mexico. From these premises, the logical inference seems to be that in looking forward, as we reasonably may, to a yet wider application of the principle of arbitration by American nations, we should base our expectations not more upon distinctively local movements, than upon a more general tendency throughout the civilized world to employ judicial methods for the decision of international questions.

When we consider the future of international arbitration, whether in America or elsewhere, we are at once confronted with the question as to its limitations. Is it possible to fix any precise bounds, beyond which this mode of settling international disputes may be said to be impracticable? If we consult the history of arbitrations during the past hundred years, we are obliged to answer that no such lines can be definitely drawn; but this is far from saying that the use of force in the conduct of international affairs is likely soon to be abolished. It signifies merely that phrases such as "national honor" and "national self-defence," which have been employed in describing supposed exceptions to the principle of arbitration, convey no definitive meaning. Questions of honor and of self-defence are, in international as in private relations, matters partly of circumstance and partly of opinion. When the United States, in 1863, first proposed that the differences that had arisen with Great Britain, as to the fitting out of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers, should be submitted to arbitration, Earl Russell rejected the overture on the ground that the questions in controversy involved the national honor, of which Her Majesty's government were declared to be "the sole guardians." Eight years later there was concluded at Washington the treaty under which the differences between the two governments were submitted to the judgment of the tribunal that met at Geneva. This remarkable example serves to illustrate the fact that the scope and progress of arbitration will depend, not so much upon special devices, or upon general declarations or descriptive exceptions, as upon the dispositions of

nations, dispositions which, although they are subject to the modifying influence of public opinion, spring primarily from the national feelings, the national interests and the national ambitions. Of the existence of favorable dispositions, the usual and appropriate evidences are: (1) the actual resort to arbitration; (2) the loyal acceptance of its results, and (3) the faithful performance of the award—the three essential conditions of the success of any arbitral plan.

Latin America and the Mexican Conference

By Honorable William I. Buchanan, formerly United States Minister to Argentine Republic

LATIN AMERICA AND THE MEXICAN CONFERENCE

BY HONORABLE WILLIAM I. BUCHANAN

Formerly United States Minister to Argentine Republic

In considering the development of the Latin-American republics and the part they took in the Mexican Conference, it is well to begin by trying to fairly measure the disadvantages our southern neighbors have had to contend with in their upbuilding.

It is a trite saying, and a perfectly true one, that we know less about Central and South American governments and people than they do of us, and it could be said of us with equal fairness that our criticism of them is usually in inverse ratio to our knowledge concerning them. Difference in language, life and blood, and the absence of national acquaintance thus brought about, coupled with their ports being almost "Tierra Nueva" to our shipping, explains, but does not justify this.

The general public relies almost wholly upon the press for its information and opinions concerning the outside world, and hence it is to be expected that in their views on South and Central American matters the great bulk of our people reflect the opinions of those who write concerning such subjects. As an instance of how public opinion through the exuberance of a writer's language may be unwittingly led to an erroneous conclusion regarding Latin-American conditions and prospects I recall an article in a recent number of the *North American Review* over the signature of "An American Business Man," in which the governments and people of the Latin-American republics are very generally written down as failures. It is true that the writer has been considerate enough to except Mexico, the Argentine Republic and Chile from his otherwise specific conclusions concerning the general incompetency of all, but he does even this in such an inconspicuous manner that the impression is easily left on the reader's mind that the writer's opinion as to the ultimate salvation of all Latin America is an extremely pessimistic one.

I refer to this article chiefly because of the manifest unfairness of the writer's attitude in discussing the subject and because I be-

lieve his conclusions represent the views of many of our people who depend upon their general reading for their knowledge.

The internal troubles and financial difficulties that have, and still, beset many of the republics south of us are explainable when approached in a fair and just manner; and when looked at from that point of view they do not—as many believe they do—appear destitute either of reason or excuse. Several of these republics are nearing three-quarters of a century of existence; almost all have passed their half-century milestone. The governmental machinery of practically all was modeled from our own. They adopted constitutions not only like, but, in some instances, broader than our own. They believed that the republican form of government they set up when they secured their independence was the only one worthy the aspirations of a people, and in this we encouraged them, and do so still. In many ways they followed in our footsteps, anticipating that the same results would follow in their several countries that would follow, and that have followed, in our own. They did what they could abroad—as we did—to attract the attention of emigrants and capital to the undeveloped riches lying within their several countries. They borrowed great sums of money abroad—as we did—and built railways and public works, or granted to eager and willing foreigners concessions therefor under preposterous conditions which have since caused them much trouble. They created customs tariff laws to create revenue and encourage the building up of home industries, as we have done. In a word, they did in these things all and more than we have done to attract immigrants; and still, to their surprise, regret, and, in several instances, their financial undoing, neither immigrant nor capital came to them to any even remote degree comparable with the story of our own country, into which both have poured in a constant and still unending stream. Capital only went to them in large amounts in connection with the development of their early schemes for railways and public improvements, and as these in almost every instance did not bring the immigrant, as it was expected they would do, the population and resources of the different countries have in consequence, with possibly the exception of the Argentine Republic and Brazil, remained practically normal during the past thirty-five years, while their interest accounts and their debts abroad, known by those from whom they borrowed to have been at that time in excess of

their ability to pay, have steadily increased. With such conditions no other result than financial distress could be expected to follow.

The financial difficulties thus forced upon the people of the different republics naturally brought forward in each all sorts of solutions and behind these all sorts of men, just as happens everywhere, and many of these left in their wake political scheming and internal troubles and uprisings, ending many times in great loss of life and in an increase of debt, deprivation and suffering.

In several instances there were added to these troubles the war preparations, and the great expense these entailed, incident to the violent discussions engendered through the many attempts made to settle the interminable boundary disputes each country came into possession of at the time of its independence, as an inheritance from the mother country. These boundary lines were originally not of vital importance, being but the limits of the authority of the different viceroys, as they were named, and hence they were not definitively or clearly specified when the republics were formed. On the western coast of South America still another trouble was added to all these—the Chilean-Peruvian-Bolivian war, from which questions arose which are yet unsolved.

No one can be surprised, with the above outline before him, to find that almost all of the countries south of the United States and Mexico have an enormously large foreign debt, when their resources and population are considered; that several are in the midst of financial difficulties concerning the payments due to those who built their railways and public works, or, that as a result of their sparse population and their limited resources of all kinds, all have been unable to accomplish to any degree, either materially or intellectually, what they expected to be able to do with the governmental machinery they put into operation when they set out on the road of self-government.

Growing out of their many troubles, a current belief has arisen that the larger portion of Latin America is a garden of revolutions; and, hence, that no particular use for arbitration should be expected to be found there, or that they have practiced, or will practice, in the adjustment of their difficulties, recourse to that method for the settlement of disputes. Neither of these beliefs is true. While there has been much disorder among them it has been largely the natural result of the economic causes and conditions to which I have referred,

coupled with the difficulty they themselves have found—and admit—of adjusting republican forms and procedure to the uses of a small, almost unblended and scattered people covering wide territories, who have had ingrained in them for centuries monarchical forms; but, while this is true, I doubt that any one would even now be found willing to say that because of this it was unfortunate that republican forms of government were set up by the different countries in question, or that it would not be now more consistent with our ideals to encourage and assist them rather than to unintelligently criticise them.

It seems but fair that those who criticise these countries for the relatively small material advance they have made, when compared with our own, should face the facts and circumstances that have surrounded the history of each. If this were done it is reasonable to believe that, instead of criticism, a cordial commendation of the many sincere efforts each has made to accomplish something of good for their people and toward the building up and working out of republican institutions on this continent, would result. That they have accomplished no more than they have is regretted by their public men more than by any of us, and their ideals, aspirations and hopes for the future of their different countries are as high and as sincere as are those of any of us with regard to our own. But great progress has been made in each as the commercial statistics of the world will more than show.

There is in each of these republics a strong and steadily increasing element of men of high ideals; men of character, of honesty; men desiring only peace, tranquillity and good order within their country and the development of its lands, mines and industries and the upbuilding and elevation of their people. The influence of this element upon the people as a whole, and upon all branches of their government, is being constantly and growingly felt, as every one knows who keeps in personal touch with the public affairs of these republics.

Some of us are so occupied with criticisms of these countries and of their prospects, and so deeply engaged in the self-appointed task of trying to convince ourselves that because Germany and England have ships, banks and people in these republics that they, therefore, must have sinister designs upon them, that we entirely

overlook the fact that we have neither ships, banks nor people, beyond a handful of the latter, in any of them.

While criticism is no doubt healthful and good when directed at others and not at ourselves, a helpful lift is more effective, and, generally, more gracefully received. If one will but take a moment and read over a list of the banks in South and Central America, many paying 25 per cent in profits, glance at the directories of their railways, some of which pay 6 per cent steadily on their stock, and then take a steamship map of South America and read the names of the lines of ships touching there and the home ports of these lines, he will cease to be, if he ever was, particularly proud of the general commercial position occupied therein by the United States, and more inclined to agree that England and Italy and France and Germany are entitled to all they have commercially attained or that they may attain therein by the influence of their people, shipping, railways and banks.

The boundary disputes of which I have spoken, and the war preparations and the great expense these entailed, have done more, in my judgment, to keep immigrants and capital out of many of the republics south of us than have all other reasons combined. One must not conclude that these long-drawn-out disputes, that have financially crippled some of the republics, indicate that Latin America has not been or is not willing to apply arbitration to these questions. This is not true, as the records of the two Pan-American Conferences that have been held will abundantly bear out. While this is so, it is equally true that at the Mexican Conference there existed a marked divergence of views between the countries represented concerning the extent to which the obligation to arbitrate should go. The subject was approached by the delegates from all the republics with fairness and frankness, the general temper of the conference being reflected by the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, Senor Mariscal, when he said at the assembling of the conference:

"I am certain you will do your utmost to avoid a spirit of dissension, whether it springs from concrete questions or from traditions or instinct. The love of our own country and our absolute identification with it are undoubtedly obligatory virtues and among our most sacred duties. While such is the case, we should not be so blind as not to recognize the rights of others. The truth is that

when we treat of matters of such transcendent importance we ought to forget that we belong to this or that section of the continent, so that in our actions there should appear neither South, Central nor North Americans, but only *Americans* in the broadest meaning of that word."

It may not be generally known or appreciated that the Latin-American republics have taken part in nine conferences and congresses, in each of which they joined in the resolutions or treaties that were adopted or agreed to, strongly urging upon the governments represented the application of the principle of arbitration to all their international questions; or, that the principle of arbitration has been specifically recognized and accepted by the Latin-American republics in more than sixty treaties made between themselves or with other nations. Both statements are, however, true.

Every delegate to the Mexican Conference was ready to assent to a treaty in which the principle of arbitration should be recognized; some, however, wanted to go farther and secure the acceptance of obligatory arbitration. These were divided, however, as to the extent to which the obligation to arbitrate should go. Peru, for example, was in favor of a treaty without any reservations in the obligatory clause, and desired that it should include "pending questions" as well. Mexico, on the other hand, desired that "independence" and "national honor" should be excepted from the operation of the obligatory clause; she desired, however, to define a list of subjects which were not to be considered as within the meaning of the term "national honor." Venezuela desired a reservation covering questions involving her rivers, while several of the delegations were willing to consent to an obligatory clause if it excepted questions affecting their "independence" and "national honor," omitting, however, Mexico's proposed definition of what should not be considered questions of "national honor."

This divergence of views as to the scope of the obligatory clause made it impossible for the majority to fully agree upon a form of treaty, since it was argued by those wishing a clear-cut obligatory clause that the words "independence" and "national honor" were of such an elastic character that they could be easily construed in an obligatory treaty containing them as being equivalent to "voluntary" arbitration, in fact.

The position of the United States delegation—that of opposi-

tion to an obligatory treaty—was looked upon as strange, since at the first conference our delegation advocated and voted for obligatory arbitration, whereas Mexico and Chile did not. Since that time, however, we seem as a people to have agreed that while obligatory arbitration might be a blessing to the world if carried out, that it is impracticable between nations owing to the absence of any motive power to bring about its use outside the two countries interested, since no matter what the character of the obligatory clause might be, there exists no power to force a country to carry out a general treaty obligation to arbitrate a case when it is believed its independence, its national life or interests would be jeopardized by such a recourse. Indeed, this view is apparently becoming well established, since but few of the seemingly large number of so-called obligatory arbitration treaties that have been signed during late years merit that classification, referring as they do in a majority of cases only to specific questions clearly understood and outlined by and between the signatory countries. The most complete form of a general obligatory arbitration treaty of which I have any knowledge was that signed about six years ago between Italy and the Argentine Republic. That treaty, however, has not yet been approved by the Argentine Congress. When it was submitted to the Argentine Senate that body amended it by excluding from the obligatory clause questions affecting the “constitution” of either of the two contracting countries. With that amendment it passed to the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, where it still awaits action.

It is certainly apparent that such exceptions and especially the words “national honor” and “independence” are susceptible of so wide a construction as to easily permit a country that may have signed a treaty containing them as exceptions to its obligatory clause, to find in them ground upon which it could decline to arbitrate a vital question, and it is difficult to conceive of such a question arising between two nations in which “national honor” would not finally occupy a chief place.

In view of the difficulties these considerations brought to the subject of arbitration in the conference, and guided by a desire to see something accomplished of a practicable character and a result secured that would place the countries composing the conference by the side of those of the Old World in the march toward the pacific settlement of international disputes, the United States delegation early

reached a conclusion that the highest good of all would be secured, and the greatest advance made, if the adherence of all the countries represented at the conference could be secured to The Hague Convention; that while that convention was sometimes referred to as being meaningless and without force, it stood as a high-water mark in international arbitration and as the best stepping-stone toward peace; and that the adherence of the American republics to that convention, and their participation in the tribunal it created, would strengthen the latter, extend its influence, and add much to the wide sentiment in favor of the pacific settlement of international questions. This view met some opposition from those in favor of an obligatory form of treaty, but as time went by and the wisdom of harmonious action in the conference on so important a subject became clearer, all sought so far as they could within their instructions to find a satisfactory solution that would lead to practicable results and in which all could join. A common ground was finally found upon which all were in more or less full accord. By the plan adopted a discussion of the general topic of arbitration, with all its possibilities for discord, was avoided in the conference, and, also, a direct vote between the adherents of obligatory and voluntary arbitration made unnecessary. The plan agreed upon was finally brought to a happy conclusion through the efforts and good-will of all the delegates, and a valuable and long-to-be-remembered conference of the western republics thereby concluded in a spirit of cordial confidence and good-will. The results secured by the conference were not, however, limited to the adherence of all the republics of this continent to The Hague Convention, nevertheless that one fact would have marked the conference as memorable. Two other parallel results were obtained. One of these was the signing between nine of the countries represented, in addition to their signatures to The Hague Convention, of a joint treaty by which they obligated themselves to arbitrate their differences; and the other was the signing of a protocol by every country represented in the conference, binding each for five years to submit to arbitration the pecuniary claims of their respective citizens against any of the other signatory governments, when such claims cannot be adjusted through diplomatic channels. This protocol is believed by many to have been one of the most important results of the conference, and it is a satisfaction to those who believe in the principle put into operation through

it, to know that this view is evidently shared in by the United States Senate, since the protocol of which I speak was reported without amendment to the Senate at its last session by the committee on foreign relations, and will, let us hope, be adopted by Congress at its next session.

Evidences of the growth and progress of the southern republics and of the strong desire felt by the people of Latin America to push their troubles behind them and to build up their countries in peace and quiet are not lacking. As an instance, the amicable and definitive settlement of the long-standing boundary dispute between the Argentine Republic and Chile may be cited, followed as it has been by the glad return of the people of both countries to the peaceful pursuits of labor and to the development of their farms, mines and factories.

Some day emigration to our country will cease. Before that day arrives it will set in toward South and Central America and with that current of people and capital all the internal troubles and financial difficulties that have beset, and still weigh down, the republics therein will be carried into history and the material and intellectual development now in progress there will be given an impetus that will not only be lasting, but, as well, a realization of the efforts and faith of their public men who have so patiently and under such great disadvantages labored to that end.

The Position of Peru in South-American Affairs

**By Senor Don Manuel Alvarez Calderon, Envoy Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru**

THE POSITION OF PERU IN SOUTH-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BY SENOR DON MANUEL ALVAREZ CALDERON
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru

There is a mistaken idea prevalent in the United States concerning the countries of Latin America. Whenever they are spoken of, it is to present them as communities living in a perpetual state of turmoil and disorder. The slightest political commotion is instantly reported as a great revolution, and not only is the offending country taken to task for thus disturbing the peace of the continent, but nine times out of ten the whole race is made responsible, while indiscriminately all of the several republics are condemned. These political commotions are becoming less frequent in the greater part of the southern hemisphere, and I feel happy to think that Peru ranks among the nations of our continent that have entered upon an era of political stability. Internal peace is to-day an accomplished fact; its blessings have brought such a change in the whole aspect of the country, that the Peruvian mind can no longer bring itself to conceive the possibility of once more returning to the old system of appealing to force and making it the supreme arbiter in the settlement of political differences. All this fortunately is a thing of the past; at present our Presidents are legally elected and the change of administration is no longer a pretext for an uprising.

But few persons have investigated the progress that Peru has attained, and but few know what security the country offers in respect to life and property, and what opportunities there are for such as would settle and make their homes there. An investigation of these facts would be of the greatest utility because it would destroy the false idea that exists generally and because it would lead to a better appreciation of a country that has ever been friendly toward the United States.

At the time of the conquest by Pizarro and his brave and adventurous Spanish followers, an ancient empire extended over the western part of South America from the Pacific Coast to the eastern slope of the Andes, having a peculiar civilization of its own, that

originated and developed without contact with European civilization. The signs of this civilization are still visible and have been the subject of research by the learned societies of the world; they are to be found in their religion and their scientific knowledge of astronomy; in the ruins of the many monuments; in the remains of the great highway along the central Andean plateau, from Quito to Cuzco, and from Cuzco to the south; in the traces of the canals and irrigation works along the coast and in the mountain slopes; in the utensils, implements and garments that were used by the natives, that attest to their knowledge of several arts; in their political and social organization, that is the source of wonderment even to this day, and is in many respects the nearest approach the world has ever seen to a community living according to socialistic ideals.

As a colony of Spain, Peru continued to occupy the same position. She was selected for the seat of the viceregal government and declared the most precious jewel in the crown of Castile. The marvelous fertility of the soil, the mineral wealth contained in the mountains and revealed by the splendor of the Inca court, and the mildness of the springlike climate, decided the conquerors to establish themselves there, and to make it the centre of their new dominions. During the three centuries of Spanish domination, Lima was the metropolis of South America, politically as likewise commercially and socially. So great was the treasure that the Spaniards obtained of this wonderful country, that the world in its astonishment, at such fabulous riches, made the name a synonym of immense wealth and thus originated the saying "worth a Peru" or "as rich as Peru" as is said in English.

Lima, our capital city, became in the colonial days the centre of all the learning, refinement and wealth in the New World, and was the first American city to be endowed with a university. In 1551 the University of San Marcos was founded, its charter being granted by Charles V. For many years it was the one seat of learning in the southern hemisphere and to it flocked the youth of the southern continent. As a graduate of that most ancient university I would ask to be allowed the privilege of suggesting, that between the University of San Marcos and the illustrious University of Pennsylvania an arrangement be made, whereby it may be possible to bring them into direct communication with each other, with the view to establishing in some manner an interchange of alumni. I venture

to think this might be of mutual advantage to the young men of both countries, as affording them an opportunity to study English here and Spanish there, while in the case of our students the possibility of acquainting themselves with the marvels of your nation, its organization and institutions, and in the case of yours acquiring a practical insight into the customs of our people, and of learning our civil and commercial laws that are substantially the same as those in practice in Porto Rico and the Philippines.

Following the example of the Anglo-Saxon colonies of North America, the South-American communities began their struggle for freedom at the dawn of the nineteenth century. As each section of the Spanish possessions was wrested from her dominion, her strength and power became concentrated in Peru, and it was in my country that the eventful battle took place that sealed forever the independence of South America, on the plain of Ayacucho, on December 9, 1824.

The relations of independent Peru with her sister republics have invariably been inspired by justice and by a broad sentiment of confraternity. On the few occasions that we have been forced into war, it is a noteworthy fact, that whenever the result favored us we did not take advantage of our position to enforce any hard conditions, but concluded peace on terms that made a perfect reconciliation immediately possible.

My country's influence has always been exerted for peace, and on more than one occasion, we have been instrumental in averting war among our neighbors. The voice of Peru has always been raised in condemnation of any unjust aggression of the strong against the weak, and emphatically of all and every attempt at aggrandizement by conquest, declaring such to be contrary to law, and a precedent that should not be established on our continent. Wherever territorial aggrandizement has been the outcome of war, there is left an open wound that is never healed. The picture of Europe divided against itself and the knowledge of the blood, tears and money that the promiscuous seizure of territory represents, should have been sufficient deterrent to our young nations not to indulge in that policy.

Peru has never refused the invitation of other nations of America to attend conferences or congresses convened for purposes of common advantage or for the end of bringing the nations into closer relationship. Thus she was represented at the first International

Congress of Panama, in 1826, at the Continental of 1856, at the first Pan-American at Washington, 1890, and again at Mexico in 1901, at Montevideo in 1889 and 1900, and she has recently been represented at the conferences held at New York on coffee and customs. She has extended her hospitality to the representatives of the sister republics on three occasions, in 1847, 1864 and 1888, when the Continental, the American and the Sanitary Congresses met in her capital city. On each and every occasion the Peruvian delegates have defended the principles of peace and harmony, strenuously fighting for the ultimate welfare of the American continent, while respecting the sovereignty of each community and their integrity of territory.

In the congresses of recent date Peru has voted in favor of compulsory arbitration because she believes that in this is to be found the essential principle that will ultimately lead to the exclusion of war as a means of settling international differences. At the last Pan-American Congress of Mexico, she signed a treaty with ten of the eighteen independent republics of free America that were represented at the close of that congress.

Faithful to her traditions she has acted up to them in every instance, both when she has had to confront a stronger power and when she has been antagonized by one that she considered weaker than herself. With this country we have had arbitrations for the settlement of claims and differences in 1841, 1862, 1863, 1868 and 1898, and the result has been that we have always maintained the most cordial relations the one with the other.

Besides those treaties we have concluded the following wherein the same principle has been established, sometimes as a general rule and at other times for special cases: with Ecuador in 1832, 1860 and 1894; with Bolivia in 1863, 1876, 1890 and 1902; with Colombia in 1829, 1858, 1870 and 1894; with the Argentine Republic in 1874, and with Chile in 1898. The latter was immediately ratified by our Congress, but unfortunately the Chilean Congress rejected it and this action has left unsolved a burning controversy between both republics, and by this course, the unjust retention of our provinces of Tacna and Arica is prolonged, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of peace and against the manifest wish of their inhabitants.

The future of Peru lies in its commercial development and its development depends primarily on the question of rapid transporta-

tion and easy communication from and to the great markets of the world. Following this line of thought I see in the Panama Canal and in the Inter-Continental Railroad the two main factors for the accomplishment of this development. And as your country with all its wealth, all its energy and activity is at the head of both schemes I can only see success in the near future.

By wise and conservative economic measures we are putting ourselves in a position to meet new conditions. In 1897 the finances of the country were put on a solid basis and the gold standard was established. In 1890 our foreign debt was canceled and therefore not having any obligations abroad and with a balance of trade in our favor, the experiment that has failed in other nations has been a success with us. With the arrangement of the financial questions there came an era of progress and of industrial activity. Many millions of native capital have been invested within a comparatively short time in banking corporations, insurance companies, mining, agricultural and industrial enterprises, while foreign capital has entered the country to the extent of many millions also.

The exportations have grown in volume from year to year, having increased five-fold since 1884, the year after the war with Chile, and doubled since the introduction of the gold standard, while the fiscal revenues have steadily augmented, leaving a progressive surplus, which has allowed the government to dedicate more of its funds to the encouragement of education, road-making, exploration and the betterment of the nation generally.

Peru, not being a bellicose nation, has only a small but efficient army trained by experienced military instructors from France, and her reduced navy is by no means a menace to her neighbors.

The exploration of the navigable rivers of eastern Peru and the selection of the most convenient routes to connect the Pacific Ocean with the head waters of the Amazon system, has been encouraged by my government and surveys and studies of several routes have been undertaken, by native and foreign engineers, and have met with success. From their reports it would appear, that by the prolongation of some of the coast railroads into the interior it is possible to reach the Amazonian watershed, and that in some instances, by building about four hundred miles of railroad, direct communication may be established between the Amazon and the Pacific, through a country rich in agricultural and mineral productions.

The importance of this route in view of the opening of the Panama Canal is of the utmost moment as it would place the heart of South America within easy access of the markets of this country, and open up what is perhaps the richest section of the world, and what is most important to you, would open to your manufacturers this great section of territory, from whence every conceivable point of South America, in connection with its thousands of miles of navigable rivers, would be practically three thousand miles from New York, while it would be about eight thousand miles from the European markets.

The railroad system of Peru is steadily increasing. In a few months we expect to have a very important section opened which will serve to develop the richest copper district in the world, the Cerro de Pasco, that American capitalists have recently to a great extent acquired.

The projected International Railroad will run along some sixteen hundred miles of our territory. The fourteen existing railroads of Peru, run from the coast inlandwards; two of them, the Central and the Southern, cross the summit of the Andes at altitudes never before reached by any railway in the world, and are justly considered as one of the greatest engineering feats ever accomplished.

The navigation of the Peruvian part of the Amazon and its affluents is being carried on successfully, and every year a greater extension of river navigation is opened up, while new routes are constantly being explored, in connection with the rubber industry.

The wealth contained in those forests is beyond description, and I may mention in corroboration that many persons have already made fortunes gathering rubber which is found there in wonderful abundance. Cinchona and coca were discovered there. One may well wonder what other treasures may not lie still hidden in those virgin forests waiting to be wrested from nature and transformed into commodities for the benefit and use of the human race. Peru offers equal advantages to foreigners as well as natives who may desire to settle there.

A nation that contains all these wonders, that possesses all these natural advantages and has resolutely entered upon the path of progress and political stability, has a very great future in store. I believe with all my heart and soul in the ultimate prosperity of

my country. And now, Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I wish to thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to me, and I wish to be allowed, in conclusion, to express the hope, that the friendly feeling that has prompted this annual meeting may always exist between this nation and her sister republics of Latin America, so that by cultivating it as you have done on this occasion, a better and juster appreciation of each other may follow.

III. Europe and Latin America

Some of the Causes of Conflict Between Europe and Latin America

By George Winfield Scott, Ph. D., University of Pennsylvania

SOME OF THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

BY GEORGE WINFIELD SCOTT, PH. D.

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The causes of conflict between Europe and Latin America are not at all new in principle. The recent clash between Venezuela and the European nations gave us a fresh combination of facts, but the principles of law and economy, over which the conflict arose, are as old as the Latin-American states.

The present dispute concerns the validity of certain pecuniary claims which are held by foreign individuals against the government of Venezuela. But indirectly involved in this dispute is also a question of territorial sovereignty. The small and uninhabited island of Patos, situated about three miles off the coast of Venezuela, is claimed by both Great Britain and Venezuela. It was supposed that when the boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana was settled that this removed the last cause of territorial conflict between Europe and Latin America. The New World has had a vast number of boundary disputes. Sometimes they have been between American states and at other times between American states and European colonies. Wherever war has been the method of settlement the foreigner, like the subject, has suffered injury to person and loss of property. Happily as one boundary after another is determined this source of conflict between Europe and Latin America is removed. Furthermore, it is hoped from the arbitration treaties recently ratified or awaiting ratification, that boundary disputes will hereafter be settled by peaceful methods.

The material or economic facts which interest Europe and Latin America in each other are well known. Europe is an old country with a surplus population, with capital that seeks better investment and with manufacturers who are anxious for cheap raw materials and good markets. Latin America is a nearby continent with untold natural resources which await only capital and enterprise to prepare them for the innumerable utilities which promote the comforts of modern life. Europe has a temperate climate, while

a large part of Latin America is within the tropics. Civilized man has always sought the products of the tropics. But the modern developments in the means of communication, sanitation, etc., have eliminated many of the difficulties and dangers incident to the exploitation of the tropics. At the same time the modern industrial processes have increased the availability and multiplied the quantity of tropical products, thereby augmenting the desirability of tropical industry and trade on the part of European states.

On their part the Latin Americans are anxious to secure the very articles which Europe alone can at present furnish. Their solicitude for immigrants and capital is abundantly evidenced by the generous invitations they have ever extended to foreigners. Privileges have been offered which no nation could possibly carry out. Frequently they have been accepted by foreign speculators who had no real interest in the development of honest industry. But relying upon their powerful governments to protect them, these foreigners have become concessionaires to fat privileges. In spite of the known instability of many of the Latin-American governments, particularly those lying within the tropics, many Europeans have invested their capital in Latin-American states. They take the hazard on the chance that for a short period there will be large returns.

Let us consider for a while the more fundamental principles which govern the rights and obligations of the opposing nations. The recognition by Europe of the revolted colonies of Spain as independent sovereign states meant something—if international morality possesses any right to the title of “law.” It was an acknowledgment that the Latin-American communities had adopted a civilized system of municipal or national law. Otherwise they would have been compelled to grant extraterritorial privileges, such as prevail in China, Turkey and Siam. It was an acknowledgment, too, that the Latin-American people possessed the governmental organization and power to enforce their national laws according to the standards demanded by the then-existing international law; that the foreigners and foreign property which came voluntarily within their jurisdiction were subject to the local laws and that the Latin-American countries as juristic persons of international law were entitled to the equal rights and subject to equal obligations enjoyed by other countries.

On the other hand, when the Latin-American communities

became states they undertook certain obligations. From the fact that a nation enjoys sovereign power over all persons and property within its territory, international law logically holds every nation *prima facie* responsible for all acts, committed therein, which invade the rights of other states, whether the offences are the acts of private persons or duly authorized government agents acting within the scope of their authority. The law assumes in the absence of proof to the contrary that all acts accomplished within the range of the state-will are either done or permitted by it.

The standard of justice and degree of protection which international law imposes upon nations in relation to the foreigners who voluntarily come within the range of the state-will is in a general way reflected by the standard which the national or municipal law of modern civilized states has set up for its own citizens and subjects. This happens from the fact that one independent state could not reasonably expect other equally independent states to concede rights and privileges to its subjects without itself making a like concession to their subjects when they should come within the range of its will. As a matter of comity, each state has by its national laws extended to foreigners those private rights which it was desirous should be extended to its own subjects who came within the jurisdiction of other states. And it may be safely said that what was originally granted as comity has now ripened into law.

Therefore, international law contemplates the existence of a national law consonant with modern civilized ideas of private right and so administered that the foreigner is able to obtain criminal and civil justice with a tolerable approach to equality as between himself and the subjects or citizens of the nation. To this extent the law seems clear. But the actual practice of the more powerful states in their relations with the weaker raises the question whether or not the foreigner (who is a subject of a powerful state) does not enjoy a more favorable position than the subject of a weak state which is suffering from intestine war or civil commotion. Over its own subjects a nation is absolutely supreme. The national law may deny all civil responsibility to them. It may treat them with flagrant injustice—considered from the moral standpoint.

However, let us assume that foreigners and foreign property, voluntarily domiciliated in the Latin-American states, are only entitled to that governmental protection and impartial justice which

these states are in the habit of administering to their own subjects. A denial of such protection and justice is considered in legal theory an injury to the nation of which that foreigner is a subject. Because every nation has a right to a continued existence and is accorded all remedies necessary to its self-preservation, that nation, the subject of which has been denied such protection and justice, enjoys at least the remedial right of interposition on his behalf. Whether the remedy of interposition will avail the foreigner anything in a particular case depends upon the standard of justice and protection which he is entitled to enjoy by the rules of international law, regardless of and apart from the national or municipal law of the nation which denies the civil responsibility. This standard can only be determined by the principles governing the actual occasions in which interposition has been successful.

Interposition is the diplomatic presentation by a nation of the claim of a subject against a foreign government with a view to induce by means of negotiation or arbitration a settlement of the claim. It differs from intervention in that it is confined to entirely peaceful remedies. When nations resort to reprisal, retorsion, "pacific" blockade or war in order to enforce a settlement of the pecuniary claims of their subjects they may be said to have intervened—they have committed a hostile act.

On principle, neither interposition nor intervention should be allowed by international law in the case of a foreigner, who has been denied the standard of protection and justice to which he is entitled, until he has exhausted in vain the remedies provided by the national law. Theoretically, this is so because it must be assumed from the sovereign nature of the state that the foreigner who voluntarily places himself within the range of the state will undertake to submit to a degree to its laws and administration. Furthermore, the dignity of the state and its high interests in the administration of justice are too deeply involved to allow a mere supposition to be entertained that there has been such a flagrant denial of justice on its part as to affect it with responsibility to a foreign state. Practically, there are at least two distinct reasons for holding that the remedies of the national law should be exhausted by the foreigner: First, to make certain that the denial of the requisite protection and justice was the deliberate act of the nation and not the mere wrongdoing of some minor governmental agency (such as an officer or

local government corporation). Second, if it was the deliberate act of the nation, to make certain that it is the sovereign will that the damage go unrequited.

The legal remedies open in the Latin-American states to the foreigner who has been injured by the government are practically the same as those provided by the countries of Continental Europe and slightly greater than those provided by the United States and Great Britain. Most nations now recognize that the activity of the government is twofold: In one capacity it is a public power maintaining peace and justice and regulating all the relationships within its boundaries. In another capacity it is a private corporation and, like any private person, subject to the civil liabilities of the private law. For damages done individuals in its public capacity no government permits itself to be sued, at least, as a matter of private right. However, all governmental activity is carried on through agents, and, as a general rule, they are personally responsible for the damage which they may commit without authority of law, or which arises from the non-performance or negligent performance of legal duties or from bad faith. Ordinarily, before the foreigner can appeal to the assistance of his government, he must exhaust the remedies afforded by the national law of the state which injured him. But where the damage is caused by the deliberate act of the highest public authority and no provision is made for redress, the foreigner has a right to seek the immediate interposition of his government. The seizure by Portugal of the Delagoa Bay Railway was an act of this character and the damage suffered by the English and American builders at once became an international claim.

Many of the claims against the Latin-American states arise from cruel and inhuman treatment, false imprisonment, forced loans, wanton destruction of property and pillage by the military, mob violence, etc. Such claims originate largely in times of civil commotion and international war. The principles which govern the responsibility of the state in such cases are comparatively simple. The state exists to promote justice, peace and civilization. The government must act in good faith and with impartiality as between subjects and foreigners. It must exercise reasonable diligence to apprehend and punish all persons who invade the private rights of foreigners. It must avoid cruel and savage punishments, at least, in the case of foreigners. Thus Sir Edward Thornton decided, as umpire of the

international commission of 1868 between Mexico and the United States, that Mexico must pay damages to those Americans in the Zerman filibustering expedition who had been treated by the Mexican authorities with severe cruelty. ' This is an extreme case because participation in a filibustering enterprise works a loss of national protection. Modern civilized law does not permit the mutilation and barbarous treatment of even an enemy.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty which besets the foreigner residing in a state disturbed by civil commotion is the maintenance of a strict neutrality. In those Latin-American states where revolution is the rule rather than the exception, the foreigner is constantly drawn into the maelstrom of strife. To cast his lot with one party means in international law the forfeiture of national protection. The failure of the European states to observe this principle of law is an important cause of conflict between the governments of Europe and Latin America. The European states are prone to overlook the unneutral acts of their subjects abroad and take up their alleged claims with all the force of a powerful state moved by deep national pride. Without doubt the home governments are imposed upon in this matter not only by their erring subjects, but by the resident consular and diplomatic agents.

When a government is temporarily unable to suppress an insurrection within its dominions, it is not responsible, as a general rule, for the damage which foreigners may suffer. It makes no difference whether the damage was caused by the insurrectionists or by the government itself in an effort to assert its authority. Strangers voluntarily domiciled abroad cannot expect a higher degree of protection than is enjoyed by the subjects of the state. States are not in the habit of recouping their subjects for losses which they have suffered in consequence of uncontrollable violence. Of course, states may do as France did after the German conquest of 1870—appropriate millions of dollars to reimburse those who have suffered from the ravages of war. But inasmuch as such national beneficence is purely an act of grace, foreigners cannot complain that they are unjustly discriminated against if they are not made recipients of the bounty.

In the matter of forced loans the foreigner has no ground for a claim if the tax is proportioned alike upon the property of subjects and foreigners. But international tribunals have uniformly held that

partiality in favor of the subject in the repayment of the forced loan is a cause for complaint. In the case of wanton destruction of property and pillage during military operations, the international arbitration commissions to which the United States has been a party have generally dismissed the claims unless the culpability of some high officer was shown.

However, states do not as a general rule hold themselves responsible to their subjects for damages which they may have suffered in consequence of the wrongful acts of government officers, even when the injury was inflicted in the regular line of duty. The private-law rule of *respondeat superior* has no application to the public law of Great Britain and the United States and only a limited application in Europe and Latin America. Thus Germany is the only state which permits herself to be sued for damages caused by the wrongdoing of her officers in cases of riot. The attitude of the United States has been to regard compensation in such cases as purely an act of grace, even under circumstances like the mob attack on the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885; on which occasion, it will be remembered, President Cleveland characterized the conduct of the Wyoming authorities as "a ghastly mockery of justice." So it happens that individuals may suffer severe losses and injuries and have no legal claim against the government itself. No nation guarantees either to its own citizens or to foreigners the administration of perfect justice. Nor is abstract justice demanded by international law.

Thus far we have discussed those claims which are tortuous in their origin. The claims which originate in contract play an important part in the conflict between Europe and Latin America. Bonds, guaranteed dividends on foreign investments, contracts for government supplies and public works, etc., have given rise repeatedly to pecuniary claims. In only one instance have the foreign bondholders recovered in claims presented to an international arbitration tribunal. The Venezuela and United States commission of 1885 made these awards. Other commissions have held that the term "claims" in the treaty establishing the tribunals was not broad enough to give them jurisdiction of claims originating in contract. The reason given was that states have as a general rule refused to protect those interests of subjects which arose from contracts with foreign states. The Venezuela commission took the ground that "a claim is none

the less a claim because it originates in contract instead of tort" and, conceding that states have heretofore refrained from presenting claims which were contractual in origin, it said, "we can perceive no reason why such a policy should not be departed from when arbitration is adopted as the method of finally adjudicating international claims."

The instruction of Lord Palmerston to the British representatives in foreign countries is often quoted as indicative of the law upon the subject. He said that the question whether the claims of English subjects originating in contracts with foreign states are to be a subject of diplomatic negotiation is "for the British government entirely a matter of discretion, and by no means a question of international right." This much might be said of any claim. Whether or not a state will undertake to collect the claims of its subjects against foreign states is "entirely a matter of discretion." To discourage foreign investment and keep capital at home, states have generally abstained from presenting contract claims. It is a matter of public policy. Fundamentally there is no difference in principle between wrongs done a subject through a breach of contract and other wrongs for which the state has been held responsible.

The rule that breaches of contract and tort create a liability for damage is a rule of private law. The position of the state in its exercise of sovereign functions is entirely beyond the sphere of private law. Therefore, the extent to which the state is liable to foreigners whose rights originated in private-law relations, must be considered from the point of view of the purpose for which the state exists. It must be borne in mind that the large debts of nations, due as they are to an indefinite number of creditors, all exist under the reservation that the nation shall be in a position to satisfy them, and the supreme authority of the nation, generally the legislature, will finally determine whether the nation is in that position. If the law of nations were otherwise the creditors of a state could assail its property with such diligence as to menace its existence. And the right to a continued existence is the most sacred prerogative of a state. The most which the foreigner has a right to expect in his private-law relations with the state is that his claims receive the same consideration which is given to similar claims of the subject. This is the rule which governs the dealings between the first-class powers.

The real, though not the most avowed, purpose of the recent

intervention of Germany in Venezuela was to collect claims which originated in contract between German subjects and the government of Venezuela. There were two principal contracts. One for 5 per cent bonds for which the Venezuela customs were pledged as security and on which the interest was four years in arrears. The other for 7 per cent dividends guaranteed by the Venezuela government to German subjects on the capital stock of a railway, built by them at an alleged cost of twenty million dollars. In addition to these contractual claims there were several others held by German and British subjects for the transport of troops, munitions of war, etc. These aggregated several million more dollars. From the principles already set forth one may draw his own conclusions as to the legal right of the powers to *force* the payment of such enormous contractual claims. The fact should be noted, too, that these claims arise from injuries to property owned by subjects who are not domiciliated abroad. A vast number of the pecuniary claims against Latin America originate in damage suffered by the, so to speak, absentee landlord. Resident foreigners are generally opposed to the use of violence by their government against the states wherein they are domiciled, because it injures their commercial interests by arousing native hostility.

The disposition of European states to exercise the remedial right of interposition and intervention on all occasions on behalf of their subjects or their property domiciled in Latin America and thereby to discount the remedies afforded to claimants by the national law of the Latin republics has tended to make the foreigner regard the laws and people of Latin America with surly contempt. The foreigner may present any sort of a cock-and-bull claim with considerable certainty that his government will take it up seriously. If this statement seems extravagant, glance through the reported proceedings of the arbitrations and mediations to which Latin-American states have been parties. Between themselves the so-called first-class powers would not think of undertaking to collect such claims. Not only is the original damage greatly exaggerated, but a high rate of compound interest is frequently added.

Of course, there are many cases in which the claimants have suffered losses. Some of them are wrongs for which no law provides a remedy (*damnum absque injuria*) and others are valid claims which should be paid. The problem is to distinguish the

legal from the illegal and the honest from the fraudulent. The method and procedure which prevail in the foreign offices and embassies of the various states are not calculated to perform this essentially judicial function. The difficulties of sifting the evidence and weighing the principles of law applicable to the issues in a particular case can best be met by the procedure of the courts. In these respects a claim against a government is not different from the claim of one private person against another. Besides, it is evident for several reasons hardly necessary to mention, that a judicial body in deciding on the merits of a claim is not so prone as an executive or legislative body to be influenced by personal motives of prejudice and political expediency.

It is impossible to find an instance in which one first-class power has ever made a show of force—resorted to the remedial right of intervention—in order to collect the pecuniary claims which its subjects held against another first-class power. Between such states claims are settled by negotiation or arbitration, *i. e.*, through the peaceful remedy of interposition. This is eminently proper. Why should it be departed from in cases to which a weak state is a party defendant? The Latin Americans realize that they have been imposed upon and naturally they feel bitter. This accounts for the long discussion which M. Calvo, the Argentine publicist, gives to the subject of pecuniary claims in his scholarly work on international law. He says: “A cette question, se rattachent les graves et nombreux conflits que la protection des étrangers a fait surgir entre les grandes puissances européennes et les gouvernements du Nouveau Monde. . . . La règle que dans plus d’une circonstance on a tenté d’imposer aux Etats américains, c’est que les étrangers méritent plus de considération, des égards et des privilèges plus marqués et plus étendus que ceux accordés aux nationaux mêmes du pays où ils résident.”

But it must not be thought that the Latin-American states are blameless. They are the cause of their own misfortune. The states within the tropics have shown little or no capacity to maintain civilized law. Basking under the kindly, not to say sentimental, protection of the Monroe doctrine they have more than once repudiated their just obligations as states and defied the powers. Considering the great economic possibilities which this territory possesses for Europe, the wonder is that the states of the Old World have been so

patient. The tropics are to them a commercial necessity, and law and order are indispensable to the maintenance of commerce and industry. The standards of law and order which meet the needs and satisfy the demands of the Europeans are those which originated in Europe. To secure the rule of law within the tropics at other points on the globe, the commercial powers have found it necessary to establish colonies. Coupled with this necessity, every first-class modern state is moved by the ideal of economic unity. The question of the hour is how long will Europe tolerate the violence and misrule which have ever prevailed in tropical America. The United States as a new country has not the surplus population nor capital which is absolutely necessary for the industrial development of American tropics. On the other hand, the Europeans will not dare to risk themselves or their property to the care of the utterly incapable and irresponsible mob which at present inhabits tropical America.

The United States, as the friend and well-wisher of the Latin-American republics, has a responsible and delicate part to play. It must be careful to avoid any "dog in the manger" policy which may thwart the establishment of honest industry among the Latin Americans by cutting off from them the population and capital which Europe alone can at present furnish. It must realize that political and civil liberty are not every man's possession for the asking. People attain liberty through ages of social and self discipline. It does not consist in a governmental name, but, like heaven, indicates a condition of mind. It is a trained will—the highest product of civilization, and not a thing to be conjured with by the use of the term "republic." The United States must issue its Monroe-doctrine ultimatums with great caution and upon careful consideration, not only because of the economic righteousness of European interest in Latin America, but because our powerful and successful republic is the model which the Latin Americans consciously and unconsciously follow. The recognition by our government of the rule of law and the binding force of international obligations cannot fail to impress them. It is to be hoped that the Senate will ratify the treaty, now submitted to it, providing for the arbitration of all pecuniary claims which may be in dispute between the United States and the Latin-American states.

No doubt the hostile methods at times employed against the Latin-American states by Europe and the United States in the col-

lection of fraudulent and illegal claims has tended to cultivate a disrespect for law on the part of the Latin Americans. Formerly it was thought necessary in national law to incarcerate and otherwise severely punish the delinquent debtor. The cessation of harsh methods (long advocated before adopted) has been followed by a decrease in the number of worthless debts and many other economic advantages to the community. Would not the adoption of a similar policy toward the Latin Americans be followed by the same happy consequences? Foreign investments would then be made only in those countries which manifested the ability to maintain peace and furnish such domestic remedies against themselves in their own courts as promised justice. The other Latin-American countries would languish from the lack of capital and industry, and perhaps spurred by the success of their neighbors to a sober political thought, it would help their society to co-operate in the establishment and maintenance of the rule of civilized law.

Private and International Law in the Enforcement of Claims

**By Clifford Stevens Walton, Esq., Washington, D. C., Licentiate
in Civil Law; formerly Counsel on the Chilean and
Salvadorean Claims Commissions**

PRIVATE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF CLAIMS

BY CLIFFORD STEVENS WALTON, ESQ.

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In the brief consideration of such a technical and far-reaching subject as the present one, the logical order of outlining something of the procedure of leading countries in the treatment of domestic and international claims is manifest before referring to such claims in international arbitrations. Inasmuch as the laws and procedures of Spanish-American countries are based on, and follow to a great extent those of European civil law countries, it has been found convenient to refer hereafter to the jurisprudence and procedures of such countries by way of illustration.

Claims in the United States.—Claims against the United States are examined either by officers in the departments of the government, by committees of Congress, by the Court of Claims, by special courts, by domestic commissions or by mixed commissions, under treaties with foreign nations. The officers of the several departments of the government examine the ordinary claims for salaries and other expenses of the government, after which they are reported to the proper offices of the Treasury Department and paid out of appropriations made from time to time by Congress. Claims may be presented in either house of Congress by petition or by bills introduced by members. These are generally referred to appropriate committees and by them examined, and then a report is made to the house in which the claim was presented, and if in favor of the claim, with a bill or joint resolution for an appropriation to make payment, which is considered and passed or rejected as other private bills. Sometimes the bill refers the examination of the claim to the Court of Claims or it is presented before a special court or before a domestic commission, created for the purpose.

The Court of Claims renders judgment, subject to an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of law in which final judgment is rendered, and these judgments are regarded as

conclusive and paid without examination by appropriations made by Congress. An examination of the United States statutes will show the jurisdiction exercised by officers of the departments, the Court of Claims, special courts and domestic commissions, in the examination, and the mode of procedure authorized by law.

Mixed commissions, under treaties, exercise jurisdiction in such mode as the treaties provide, aided by such legislation of Congress as may be necessary, and their awards are paid by foreign governments or by appropriations of Congress, as the case may be. The organic act of 1855 gave to the Court of Claims jurisdiction to hear and determine "all claims founded upon any law of Congress or upon any regulation of an Executive Department, or upon any contract, expressed or implied, and all claims which may be referred to it by either house of Congress."

By the act of March 3, 1863, a limitation as to time was provided for filing claims in this court and this same act also had a proviso in respect to all set-offs, counter-claims, claims for damages, whether liquidated or unliquidated, or other demands whatever on the part of the government against any person making claims against the government in said court. Other amendments have been made from time to time which are not material in this connection and may be found in the revised statutes, except the provision as to aliens. Aliens, who are citizens or subjects of any government which accords to citizens of the United States the right to prosecute claims against such government in its courts, have the privilege of prosecuting claims against the United States in the Court of Claims whereof the court, by reason of their subject-matter and character might take jurisdiction. It has been judicially determined by decisions already made, that under this proviso the right to sue in this court is accorded to citizens of many foreign countries. In *Brown v. the United States*, decided in the Court of Claims, May 22, 1871, Nott, J., said:

"Our popular orators and writers have impressed upon the public mind the belief that in this republic of ours private rights receive unequaled protection from the government; and some have actually pointed to the establishment of this court as a sublime spectacle to be seen nowhere else on earth. The action of a former Congress, however, in requiring (Act xxvii, July, 1868, 15 Stat. L., p. 243) that aliens should not maintain certain suits here unless their own governments accorded a corresponding right to citizens of the

United States, has revealed the fact that the legal redress given to a citizen of the United States against the United States is less than he can have against almost any government in Christendom. The laws of other nations have been produced and proved in the Court of Claims, and the mortifying fact is judicially established that the government of the United States holds itself, of nearly all governments, the least amenable to the law."

In England aliens have a remedy "by petition of right," regulated by Acts xxiii and xxiv Victoria, July 3, 1860, and subsequent amendments. (*U. S. v. O'Keefe*, 11 Wall. 179; *Carlisle v. U. S.*, 16 Vol., p. 148. See Whiting's War Powers of the President, 51; the *Venus*, 8 Cranch; the *Hoop*, 1 Rob. 196; the *Army War* *Warwick Sprague*, J.)

In Foreign Countries in General.—Foreign nations, almost without exception, have given to aliens, including citizens of the United States, the right to go into their courts, and have an adjudication of their claims upon such nations. This is well shown in the case of *Fichera v. the United States*, 9 Court of Claims R., decided in 1873, in which Nott, J., said:

"The only question presented in this case is whether under the Italian law an American citizen may maintain an action against the government of Italy, and we have already found the perfected justice of the civil law made the government in matters of ordinary obligation, subject to the suit of the citizen, in the ordinary tribunals of the country. We have found this right to be preserved under modern codes in Prussia, Hanover and Bavaria (*Brown's case*, 5 C. Cls. R., p. 571); in the republic of Switzerland (*Lobsiger's case*, id., p. 687); in Holland, the Hanseatic provinces and the free city of Hamburg (*Brown's case*, 6 C. Cls. R., p. 193); in France (*Dauphin's case*, id., p. 221); in Spain (*Molina's case*, id., p. 269); and in Belgium (*De Givès's case*, 7 C. Cls. R., p. 517)."

According to the laws of *France* an action may be brought against the state by a private individual either before the civil or administrative tribunals, according to the nature of the case. If the state is sentenced to pay a sum of money, such sum is taken from the budget of expenditures, and as it is the duty of the legislative branch to vote the budget, it follows that the legislative branch really provides for the payment. Claims against the state brought before the courts constitute what it is customary to call "*actions contentieuses*"; i. e., actions in which it is presumed that a right, in the judicial sense of the word, is claimed. In other cases it happens

that individuals *whose interests have suffered some detriment* bring claims against the state, either addressing the administration directly or the legislative branch. If the admission of these claims involves the payment of pecuniary indemnities, it is the duty of the legislative branch to provide for the payment in case no appropriation has previously been made to meet these expenditures. There is no special mode of procedure before the legislative branch. Claimants may present petitions, or deputies, either in their own name or in the name of the parties interested, may introduce measures before the legislative branch; or the government itself may bring in a bill.

If a petition is presented, the assembly, in case of its admission, refers it to the ministry having jurisdiction in the matter to which the petition refers. If a motion is made or a bill presented, the examination thereof is referred to a commission, which makes its report, and the assembly passes a vote of approval or rejection. In the first case the law which is passed regulates the fundamental points of the right to indemnity and the details of execution. In general, the legislative branch does not decide as to the admission or rejection of the claims which the parties interested may have to present in execution of the law; the legislative branch generally leaves this to be done by administrative commissions, after it has prescribed the principal rules or mentioned the general conditions which are to be fulfilled.

As examples of this may be cited the following:

The law of September 6, 1871, established the principle of solidarity, in accordance with which the legislator designed to cause the whole nation to aid in making good the material damages of all kinds caused by the war. This law allowed, provisionally, the sum of 100,000,000 francs to be distributed among the invaded departments; and also, the sum of 6,000,000 francs, which latter was specially appropriated to the payment of *damages caused by the reinstatement of the lawful power in Paris after the insurrection of the commune*. The most liberal spirit presided over the application of the principle of indemnification. No distinction was made on account of the causes of the damages. All persons who had suffered material losses in consequence of the war were allowed to present their claims, whether for war contributions, fines, or anything of the kind.

The law of the twenty-eighth of July, cited, closes the series of relief measures which the assembly and the government were led

by a spirit of justice and a humane policy to adopt. After the passage of these three laws, it may be said that there is no kind of damage resulting from war for which relief has not been granted, if not in full, at least in a certain measure, and that without respect of persons. Foreigners, Germans as well as others, were allowed to receive a share of the indemnities granted, whether these had been appropriated to the reparation of losses resulting from the war, properly so-called, or to that of losses caused by the insurrection of the commune.

France has always taken the most liberal standpoint in granting indemnities after civil wars. Thus it was that a law of December 13, 1830, supplementary to the law of the thirtieth of August preceding, placed the sum of 2,400,000 francs to the credit of the government for the purpose of indemnifying the sufferers by the July revolution. Another law, of December 24, 1851, appropriated 5,600,000 francs to the relief of the persons who had suffered damages to their property in consequence of the revolution of February, and the revolution of June, 1848. In all these cases, foreigners, as well as French citizens, were permitted to enjoy the benefits of the measures of relief which were adopted.

The law of the tenth of Vendemiaire, year IV, rendered the communes responsible for acts of violence committed in their territories by mobs and armed or unarmed assemblages, as well as for reparation of the damages resulting therefrom. The benefits of this law were intended for foreigners as well as for native citizens.

Liability under the Civil Law.—The jurisprudence of Spanish America is based largely upon that of the European civil law and in respect to such claims it is well illustrated in Brown's case (5 C. Cls. R., p. 571), by a distinguished historical writer, Mr. Frederick Kapp, who, as a witness, stated that this liability of a government under the civil law is not a device of modern civilization, but has been deemed inherent in the system, and has been so long established that, to use the phrase of the common law, "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Therefore it is to be expected that in Italy, the seat of the fountain of the civil law, this same liability is to be found existing. The civil code of the kingdom of Italy of 1866 recognizes, rather than establishes, the fundamental principle of liability, but it expressly provides (Article 10) "That in suits pending before the judicial authority between private persons and the

public administration, proceedings shall always take place formally at the regular session." It is also provided by the third article of the same code that "The alien is admitted to enjoy all the civil rights granted to citizens." These provisions established the right of an Italian citizen to maintain his action in the United States Court of Claims, within the meaning of the act of July 27, 1868 (15 Stat., p. 243, sec. 242), which prohibits the subject of a foreign government from maintaining a suit for captured property, unless "the right to prosecute claims against such government in its courts is reciprocal, and extends to citizens of the United States."

Generally in foreign countries, the state is represented in its pecuniary capacity as the representative of money and property affairs by an officer called the *fiscus*. The power to maintain such a suit is considered a matter of absolute right. Suits in relation to state property, in which the *fiscus* is either plaintiff or defendant, are treated and decided like suits among private parties and all the consequences of defaults and executions take place against the *fiscus*. The *fiscus* is brought into court by the service of summons and complaint upon the fiscal attorney. The fiscal attorney is to answer similarly to any other party and bring his proof. Judgment rendered against the *fiscus* may be satisfied and discharged in the usual way, by execution. (See Brown's case, 5 C. Cls. R., p. 271.) In Bavaria the redress is substantially the same (Muller's case, 6 id.). In the republic of Switzerland the federal tribunal takes cognizance of suits between the confederation, on the one side, and corporations or individuals on the other, when these corporations or private citizens are complainants and the object of the litigation is of the value of at least 3,000 francs (Law, fifth of June, 1849). In the Netherlands, in the German Empire and generally in all countries which have inherited the perfected justice of the civil law, the government is in legal liability thus subject to the citizen. Even in France, under the late empire, there was a less circumscribed means of redress, a more certain judicial remedy, a more effective method of enforcing the judgment recovered, than has been given to the American citizen, notwithstanding the pledge of the constitution. Of all the governments of Europe, it is believed that Russia alone does not hold the state amenable to the law in matters of property.

In respect to the Spanish law it appears that the right of an alien and of a Spanish subject to appear before the courts of

law generally, and bring all manner of actions, whether against the government, or against all other persons and corporations, is precisely the same. The Spanish law makes no distinction in this respect between aliens and subjects (See Spanish Constitution, Art. 2; Civil Code, Art. 27; Civil Procedure, Arts. 69-70, and *Ley de Extranjeria*); all alike have the right to claim against the action of the government, and to procure redress whenever the action of the government or any of its officers is claimed or pretended to be, in violation of written law or in violation of contracts entered into by the government.

In Spanish America.—In respect to the procedure in Spanish America the liberal provisions of the Argentine Republic may be cited by way of illustration. In this republic every claim is presented to the executive and proper department, according to its nature. It must be substantiated by the report of that department which may be acquainted with its antecedents, and with the opinion of the attorney of the treasury or the attorney-general of the nation. The executive can also ask for all the data, reports or testimony that may be considered necessary to establish the truth of the alleged facts. In this respect there is no law whatever establishing a fixed form of procedure. If the executive finds the claim admissible, and there exists in the general budget of the administration or any special laws authority to make payments of the nature of the claim, he then orders its payment by the finance department, charging it to the budget or the special law, as the case may require. If there should be no authority in law to make such payments, then the case is passed to Congress, accompanied with a bill to vote the necessary funds to meet the payment. Congress studies the claim anew and if found admissible, accepts the bill submitted by the executive. If the executive finds the claim inadmissible, he rejects it. In this latter case the interested party sometimes presents himself direct to Congress, complaining of the decision of the executive, and asking that by a special law the payment may be ordered for the amount claimed. The provision of the constitution on the subject is as follows:

"Art. 20. Aliens enjoy in the territory of the republic all the civil rights that citizens do. They can follow their occupation or profession, possess, buy, or sell real estate, navigate the rivers and coasts, exercise freely their religion,

testate and marry according to its laws. They are not obliged to become citizens, or pay extraordinary or forced contributions.

"From these primordial rights given by the constitution to foreigners spring all the rights that are correlative to them, and, among others, *the right of suing or being sued by any individual, native or foreign, before the courts or the government*, in the cases and conditions before mentioned, or in any civil or criminal suit that originates from the exercise of the rights above mentioned, or for the violations of said rights. Furthermore, when a question arises between a foreigner and a native, they are not obliged to submit to the local tribunals, but either of them can oblige the other to appear before the federal tribunals of the nation. This right does not exist when the question is between two foreigners or two natives, in which case they are obliged to submit to the decision of the province in which they reside.

"The resident foreigner and the temporary sojourner have equal rights in law. The only difference, therefore, between a citizen and an alien in the republic is, that the latter cannot be an elector for members of any of the three highest positions in the nation, nor can he, on the other hand, be obliged to perform military service, or pay extraordinary obligatory contributions."

Claims under International Law.—Upon the grounds of public policy, many governments exclude contractual claims from international arbitrations. One reason for this appears to be that persons going into a foreign country for business purposes and making contracts there are supposed to take knowledge of the customs, laws and procedure in such cases and to contract with their eyes open. This is especially true with respect to common law countries that the *lex loci contractus* is to govern, where the contract is to be carried out in the place or country where it is made. In civil law countries it is held that the domicile ought to govern in regard to the capacity of persons to contract. There is, however, much conflict of opinions on this general subject both in common law and civil law countries, which are determined by the peculiar facts in each case and must be taken into consideration in this connection. Lord Palmerston and some other authorities have proclaimed that notwithstanding it is generally contrary to public policy to enforce contractual claims against foreign governments, still, that the state in its sovereign capacity has that right reserved if it sees fit to enforce it, and cases are apt to be more frequent of the exercise of this right where claims are prosecuted independently through diplomatic correspondence or by means of reciprocal agreements under treaties. As examples of this may be cited the following cases: *Hilton v. Guyot*, 159 U. S. 114, which was a contractual case in which a judgment

was obtained in the French courts against citizens of the United States, which judgment was attempted to be enforced in the courts of this country without success and in which it was held that :

"A foreign judgment for money in favor of a citizen of the foreign country against a citizen of this country, rendered by a competent court having jurisdiction of the cause and of the parties, upon due allegations and proofs and opportunity to defend according to the course of a civilized jurisprudence, whose record is clear and formal, is *prima facie* evidence, at least, in a suit upon it in this country, and is conclusive on the merits, unless impeached on special ground, or shown by international law or the comity of this country not entitled to full faith and credit.

"Judgments rendered in a foreign country, by the laws of which our judgments are reviewable on the merits, are not entitled to full credit and conclusive effect when sued upon in this country, but are only *prima facie* evidence of the justice of the plaintiff's claim.

"In the absence of statute or treaty, the comity of this country does not require that judgments of a foreign country be recognized as conclusive in this country, where such foreign country does not give like effect to our own judgments."

And the case of *Perez Triano & Company*, where judgments were obtained against a Colombian in England and the United States, and were found to be enforceable in Colombia in view of a reciprocity clause in a treaty made between the two countries.

Domestic Commissions.—Domestic commissions, appointed to decide international claims, heretofore have not proven entirely satisfactory. This may be accounted for to some extent on account of the one-sided constitution of such commissions, which leads the commissioners to overlook or disregard the rules of foreign countries in respect to evidence and procedure and, aside from political and national prejudices, the natural tendency of such commissioners to follow too much the technical rules of the courts of their own countries, and the result has been that instead of doing justice there have been imposed such impracticable conditions as to amount almost to a denial of justice. This is evident when one examines the proceedings of a mixed commission, made up of members from different foreign countries, whereby any efforts of the commissioners of any particular countries to impose their rules of evidence and procedure, as rules *par excellence*, upon the commissions, have been warmly combated, resulting in broad equitable rules being adopted

generally, whereby a cardinal principle of *getting at the truth by any fair means has been the first consideration.*

It is hardly necessary to state that common law procedure is but a mere infant compared with that of civil law countries which is to-day in force in many of the leading countries of the world, and while many features of the common law system are highly commendable, still the evils of others, like *too much cross-examination, confusing and misleading witnesses on the witness-stand, and the arbitrary exclusion of testimony on the grounds of leading questions* (which latter practice courts are modifying; see, *Rowe v. Godfrey*, 16 Me. 128; *Funk v. Babbitt*, 156 Ill. 408; 20 C. of A. D. C., 559), are well recognized among the members of the bars of this country, and it is extremely doubtful if in the prosecution of international claims such practice can ever be justly enforced, except to a limited extent, in foreign territory where a foreign language is spoken and the civil law prevails.

This is a problem which now confronts the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission at Washington, the first commission which has ever gone to such extremes, and it is believed that unless a broad view is taken of the situation, the results will be disastrous and anything but praiseworthy.

Arbitrary Practices.—Some Spanish-American countries like Chile, Salvador and Venezuela, at different times, have enacted laws requiring foreigners to resort to local courts for determination of their claims and have attempted to deny such foreigners the right of resorting to their own governments, either directly or by means of reference to international arbitration, unless such claims were first established in the local courts. Such arbitrary requirements are now quite generally recognized as contrary to international law, especially where there is local prejudice, where claimants are in foreign territory or where the local courts are mal-administered (See *North and South American Construction Company v. Republic of Chile*, case 7, U. S. and Chilean Claims Commission; *El Triunfo v. U. S.*, No. 1, U. S. and Salvador Arbitration).

Mixed Commissions.—Claims prosecuted internationally under mixed commissions are restricted by conventions and rules of practice based thereon, consequently governments do not have the same latitude under such commissions as they do where cases are enforced through diplomatic correspondence alone. As a rule, contractual

claims are excluded from adjudication by express terms in conventions or treaties made between the governments interested and other limitations are often imposed in regard to filing such claims and forever barring claims which are not filed within a stated time. As an illustration of such conventions may be cited the conventions celebrated between the United States and Chile, August 7, 1892, and May 24, 1897, as to claims arising from acts committed by the civil or military authorities of either country, and which were to be a final adjudication and settlement of all claims between the said countries prior thereto. The language of article 1 of the convention of 1893 is similar to that of other conventions, and is as follows :

"All claims on the part of corporations, companies or private individuals, citizens of the United States, upon the government of Chile, arising out of acts committed against the persons or property of citizens of the United States, not in the service of the enemies of Chile, or voluntarily giving aid and comfort to the same, by the civil or military authorities of Chile; and on the other hand, all claims on the part of corporations, companies or private individuals, citizens of Chile, upon the government of the United States, arising out of acts committed against the persons or property of citizens of Chile, not in the service of the enemies of the United States, or voluntarily giving aid and comfort to the same, by the civil or military authorities of the government of the United States, shall be referred to three commissioners," etc.

And Article 9:

"The high contracting parties agree to consider the result of the proceedings of the commission provided by this convention as a full, perfect, and final settlement of any and every claim upon either government," etc.

The Hague Tribunal and the Second Pan-American Conference.
—The convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, concluded and signed July 29, 1899, at The Hague, included only two powers of the western hemisphere, namely, the United States of America and the United Mexican States.

At the second Pan-American Conference, held in the city of Mexico, the principles set forth in the three conferences held at The Hague were recognized as a part of public international American law, and on January 15, 1902, were subscribed to by the delegates of the Pan-American countries, with the exception of Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Venezuela and Cuba (then not independent) :

On January 29, 1902, a treaty was agreed to for compulsory arbitration, excepting questions of independence and national honor, matters in controversy to be submitted either to The Hague or to a *special tribunal* (under special procedure to be agreed upon). Independence or national honor was stipulated not to be involved in controversies with regard to diplomatic privileges, boundaries, rights of navigation and validity, construction and enforcement of treaties (Articles 1 and 2).

This compulsory arbitration treaty led to much controversy which at one time threatened the dissolution of the congress; however, this treaty was finally subscribed to by the delegates from the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Salvador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

On January 30, 1902, the Pan-American delegates, excepting those from Brazil and Venezuela, agreed to a treaty for the arbitration of pecuniary claims, *i. e.*:

"to submit to arbitration all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which may be presented by their respective citizens, and which cannot be amicably adjusted through diplomatic channels, and when said claims are of sufficient importance to warrant the expenses of arbitration." (Art. 1.)

Such claims were agreed to be submitted to The Hague Tribunal unless both parties should prefer a special tribunal with special procedure (Article 2). This treaty is not obligatory except as to those who have subscribed to The Hague Convention, and as to those who have ratified the convention and upon those who ratified the protocol for their adherence to the conventions signed at The Hague, July 29, 1899, and shall be in force for a period of five years. Under these various conventions and treaties, which are more or less intimately connected, a broader jurisdiction is opened for the adjustment of international differences and claims which, it is believed, will insure more complete justice and satisfaction than has been heretofore accomplished, as many of the petty restrictions and limitations which are to be found in arbitration conventions previously held will be put aside, and the general result will be undoubtedly a better understanding among powers of those broad and liberal principles of equity and justice which will tend towards the compilation of codes of international public and private law for the use of the civilized world.

Notes on the Danish West Indies

By Albert G. Keller, Ph.D., Yale University

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The efforts put forth by the Scandinavian peoples in the line of colonization deserve something more than the perfunctory notice which has fallen to their lot. Such isolated instances of a general social movement are likely to exhibit in a clearer, because simpler, light the motives and factors which have led to more important manifestations along the same lines. And even if these miniature colonial empires do owe their foundation to a somewhat different set of causes, they are not less, but more, instructive for that very reason. It is like an experiment which proceeds by isolation of factors.

The experience of Sweden was so brief, and owed so much to the influence of the Dutch visionary, Usselincx¹ that it may be set aside as of slighter moment; but the colonial activity of the Danes was crowned with more enduring results and affords more material, unfortunately hard of access, for study and reflection. And under present conditions, it is of especial interest to Americans to know what value the Danes really set upon their West Indian islands, before there was any definite prospect in sight for their sale.

There was no pressing reason for Denmark's colonial activity in the tropics. No overplus of population or capital demanded new fields into which to expand; no religious or political strifes existed in the homeland, to create a body of exiles to foreign parts. Commerce was not such as to require new regions of supply and demand. The acquisition of the islands St. Thomas and St. John, and later, St. Croix, was due very largely to a desire to imitate the activi-

¹ Van Rees, *Staathuishoudkunde*, II, 72 ff.; the Danish authorities followed in the preparation of this paper are: Bernhard von Petersen, *En historisk Beretning om de dansk-Vestindiske Öer St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jan*, Kjöbenhavn, 1835; *Erindringer fra et sexaarigt Ophold paa St. Croix og Cuba*, af "Th.," Kjöbenhavn, 1866; Johan Werfel, *Efterretning om de danske-Vestindiske Öers St. Croix's, St. Thomas's og St. Jan's*, Kjöbenhavn, 1801; Georg Höst, *Efterretninger om Öen Sanct-Thomas og dens Gouverneur optegnede der paa Landet fra 1769 indtil 1776*, Kjöbenhavn, 1776; H. West, *Bidrag til Beskrivelse over St. Croix, med en kort udsigt over St. Thomas, St. Jean, Tortola, Spanishtown og Crabeiland*, Kjöbenhavn, 1793.

ties of Holland and England, and to reap, if possible, the direct and indirect results of such a policy. The movement is an artificial one, therefore, at the very outset; as far as Danish trade with the tropics was concerned, it could hope for little advance of profit under the new conditions.

St. Croix, the largest of the islands, was occupied by the Danes in 1733. Previous to this time, it had belonged to the Knights of Malta (1651-1665), from whom it had been bought by Colbert. Already it had been successively in Dutch, English, Spanish, and French hands. The Maltese Knights had suffered severely from fever, and had been frequently dependent on St. Christopher for food. Under Colbert a company, invested with the usual trade monopoly, was formed, which, however, had been compelled to turn to the king for aid; and the island had been deserted (1695) by the 147 whites and 623 slaves who had inhabited it. For thirty-eight years it was neglected and masterless.

St. Thomas, the second in size of the Danish islands, was seized in 1667 by the English and its few Dutch colonists were forced to depart. Except for the visits of pirates, the island was then deserted until 1671. In that year there was formed the *Dansk Guineisk-Vestindiske Compagni*, under whose auspices the island was at once occupied by the Danes, in spite of England's protest. This Danish company was managed by six directors, who were required to invest two thousand rigsdaler² in the enterprise; shares were sold at one hundred rigsdaler. The first governor, Jørgen Iverson, reached the island May 23, 1672. The earliest proclamation of the governor dealt, in its first articles, with religious matters. Fines were fixed for non-attendance at divine service, for Sunday labor, and the like. Strict prescriptions as to drill and use of arms in defence, follow. All persons were forbidden to leave the island, or take anything away from the island without the governor's permission. Heavy fines were to be exacted for attempts to entice away another's indentured servants—whites who had sold their liberty for passage. Negroes were not allowed to leave a plantation after dark; if a strange negro was found on a plantation at night, he was to be arrested, taken to the fort, and punished. Other injunctions calculated to insure internal

²The specie rigsdaler was worth, at the end of the seventeenth century, about \$1.02. It rose a few cents in value during the ensuing period and was worth in 1844, \$1.11.

cohesion and order, and an efficient defence, were published. All fines were payable in tobacco, the natural currency of the colony.³ The necessity of defence was made apparent by the robberies of the Spanish from Porto Rico, and by the presence of French and English buccaneers on the island of Tortuga.

The familiar difficulty of tropical colonization began to make itself felt after 1679—lack of an adequate labor supply. Complaint was made to King Christian V., who promptly established slave stations on the Gold Coast, and under pressure increased the number of shareholders of the company in Copenhagen; a tax was levied on coaches, for example, when the owners could not show certificates of participation to a certain figure, in the company. Naturally enough, the import of slaves into the islands increased perceptibly and with it the prosperity of the plantations. These slaves came, however, of restless and unruly stocks, and in an exceptionally short time the Danish islanders are found to be in terror of revolts and deeds of violence. Laws were enacted which could not have been enforced, else all the slaves would have perished by the halter.

The evil, because of the essential weakness of the Danish company, was not at this time of such proportions as it later displayed. Possessing meagre capital, the company could send but one ship a year to the African coast; this vessel transported slaves to St. Thomas and then loaded with colonial wares for Denmark. For the purpose of increasing trade and also to encourage the settlement of the colony, a thirty-year treaty was concluded with the Duchy of Brandenburg, in accordance with which a company of Germans was to settle in the islands. Most of the shares, however, were in Dutch hands. The immediate result of this movement was the appearance of fifty workmen in the isles and of five ships, sailing on the company's account. This company suffered much from French pirates shortly after its erection, but made such large gains as to excite the envy of the Danes, to whom small consideration was given. Its privilege ran out in 1715 and was not renewed; members of the company who desired to stay were required to take the oath of allegiance.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the islands were

³ By 1684 sugar had distanced tobacco, and, according to the well-known laws of money, had taken its place as currency.

fortunate enough to receive as settlers a number of Huguenot fugitives from St. Christopher; these were noted, as usual, for frugality, industry and fear of God. In general during all this period, efforts were being made to attract a larger immigration; at one time young, unmarried women were forbidden to leave the country without special permission. A number of privileges were guaranteed to settlers, including religious tolerance, freedom from taxes for eight years, grants of as much land as could be put under cultivation, needed aid in agriculture, etc. Imported and exported products were to be free of customs for eight years. The policy was liberal, and the results were good; in 1688, the island numbered ninety plantations, with 317 whites and 422 slaves. To show the polyglot nature of the population, it may be mentioned that of the white families, nineteen were Danish, sixty-three Dutch, thirty English, seventeen French, three Swedish, two German and one Portuguese. This mixed character of the population was maintained into the nineteenth century, and was plainly evident to an observer in the forties.⁴ Many local names on the island recall to mind the varied nationality of its early settlers.

The monopolistic trading company, as time went on, did not fail to prove its kinship with its prototypes—it ran the usual course of inglorious inefficiency. In 1692, as a relief measure, the island of St. Thomas was leased to a merchant, Thormohlen by name, for ten years. The lessee was to maintain a garrison and was to have full control of all the island's affairs and income. The characteristic independence of the colonial society was here witnessed, for the colonists resolutely refused to pay taxes to Thormohlen, whose activity was not prolonged beyond the original period of lease. After the disappearance of this adventurer, the company led a humdrum existence for some years. In 1736 it was found that to keep itself above water, it had in the matter of trade consistently favored the Dutch and excluded its own countrymen. Eight Dutch ships were engaged in the trade to one Danish. A counter movement of merchants in Copenhagen succeeded in forcing an entrance into the West Indian Company and the Dutch were in turn excluded.

But the company was nearing its end. The burdens which its manipulations had laid upon the colonists were intolerable and frequent complaints were lodged with the king. The company had

⁴ Brindlinger, etc., 150.

secured a thoroughgoing monopoly of raw sugar in Denmark and, by opening a refinery there, virtually commanded the market. Prices were driven very high and sugar became a luxury no longer in common use. The shortsightedness and greed of this policy impressed themselves upon the government and in 1755 King Frederik V. bought out the company's entire plant, including the islands, the equipment and the Copenhagen refinery. The price paid (1,418,000 rigsdaler), was entirely incommensurate with the good effects that appeared at once and with the general gratitude of the oppressed colonists.

One of the chief causes of rejoicing to the planters was the removal of the restrictions laid by the company on the importation of slaves. Slaves were a necessary evil, and one with which the colonists played as with fire, with a certain fateful fascination. Early in the eighteenth century and before, precautions must constantly be taken regarding runaways, and fear of uprisings was constantly displayed. All the boats, for instance, were drawn up at night under the guns of the fort. The Spanish of Porto Rico enticed the runaways and hypocritically explained, in answer to complaint, that the slaves had come "to be baptized." The fear of the blacks had grown until the colonists had become panicky, and consequently needlessly cruel and arbitrary. In 1733 an edict appeared which evidenced this terror; such punishments as branding, loss of limbs, hanging, and breaking on the wheel were threatened for what appear to us to be comparatively unimportant offences. By this cruelty an uprising was brought about late in 1733 on the island of St. John, for the suppression of which it was found necessary to call in the French from Martinique. The desperation of the negroes is shown by the fact that they preferred death to capture; a body of three hundred, finally shut in and sure to be taken, deliberately shot each other, so that the victors found their dead bodies lying in a circle about their last camp. The suppression of this revolution cost 7,900 rigsdaler, besides costly gifts to the French officers. But the St. John planters refused to bear a share in the expense, asserting among other things, that the fort was poorly prepared for resistance.

When the king had taken over the powers of the company and slaves began to come in with greater rapidity, the native question became still more threatening. Partially in consequence of this, the

slave trade was declared illegal (1792). Thus the Danes became the forerunners of the great philanthropic movement of the early nineteenth century; the slave-trade went on, none the less, with the connivance of the authorities for half a century.⁵ Finally, on the queen's birthday, June 28, 1847, all children born of slaves were declared to be free; the whole slave system was to be abolished in twelve years. But this move failed to win the confidence of the slaves, who were suspicious of the twelve year term. Indications of a conspiracy appeared in 1848 and an incipient and dangerous revolt in St. Croix in July of that year, encouraged by English sailors, forced an immediate emancipation; 1,892 whites were opposed to 22,000 negroes in desperate mood, who carried the English flag as a symbol of freedom.

We have here, then, with unimportant variations, the stock history of the question of tropical labor up to emancipation. The orders that followed were likewise of a familiar general type. Contracts for paid labor were to date from October 1 of each year, and would be renewed only at that time; notice of such intention was to be given in August. No discharge was to be without ground, and no strikes were to be allowed; work was to last from sunrise till sunset, as a rule, and for only five days in the week; liberal allowance of time for meals (three hours) being granted. The laborer was given a small plot of ground and was to be paid per day fifteen, ten, or five cents according as he belonged to the first, second, or third grade of workmen. Extra labor during harvest was to be paid for, and no one was to be forced to work on Saturday; a maximum wage of twenty, thirteen, or seven cents was to be paid for voluntary Saturday labor. Fines, levied in labor, for absence and tardiness, were designed to oppose the tendency to vagabondage. Women were to be excused from work for seven weeks after confinement. Other provisions dealt with the treatment of the sick and weak, and with the punishment of those who incited a stoppage of labor.

Certainly these St. Croix provisions were mild ones as they appear on the statute books. It is likely that they represent the actual treatment of the freedmen with approximate correctness. The conditions of forced labor of all kinds have been regularly harder on islands than upon the mainland, where escape was easier;

⁵ After 1792 slaves were continually imported, and premiums were paid for strong and healthy ones. Burt, *En Stemme fra St. Croix*, Kjöbenhavn, 1852.

but, inasmuch as the position of the Danish islands favored evasion, it is likely that the planters, prizing their comparatively few laborers higher, took pains to retain them. Facts seem to bear out this hypothesis. The absence of the coolie system is scarcely remarkable, when one realizes the poverty of Denmark and the generally discouraging attitude of the British, Dutch, and Chinese governments toward this form of semi-slavery.

In spite of the laws, vagabondage, and with it, crime, increased notably, especially in the towns of St. Thomas. In the country, master and former slave often worked side by side, winning a precarious existence under a somewhat disjointed system. For a long time no indemnity to former slave-owners was granted, owing to embarrassments of the home country during the Sleswig-Holstein war.⁶ In 1855 the working classes of St. Thomas were earning from five to twenty dollars per month. Many of them were great bunglers; few felt much obligation or displayed much fidelity to their masters. The regular results of emancipation upon the character of the negro appeared prominently. Work was felt to be lowering; the negroes held the conviction that to be a "gentleman" one must command others and exact obedience. Domestic tyranny and cruelty resulted when this wish could not be gratified otherwise. Shameless begging was preferred to labor and no attempt was made to provide for old age; alms of less than a dollar were regarded as petty, and the donor was despised. Aid was asked by able-bodied men as a matter of course. Vanity was a characteristic all too common—servants would not appear on errands until

⁶Under date of August 24, 1852, we have a letter of considerable interest, written by a Saint Croix planter to the Danish Parliament (John Heyliger Burt, Jr., *En Stemme fra St. Croix, Breve til den danske Rigsdag*, Kjöbenhavn, 1852). The author, after recalling the prosperity of the islands during the European wars, states that they are now struggling for existence: labor is insecure, insufficient and costly, production is declining, and prices are low. He regards the labor regulations mentioned above as wise and beneficial, but explains that the planters could not have carried out the provisions demanded of them unless the labor supply had been made steady and secure.

The main contention of the letter is that the Danish Government should not so far prove false to its honor as to refuse indemnification to slave-owners after emancipation. The planters had been to considerable expense in the erection of schools, etc., for the betterment of the negroes, and yet it was proposed by some that they should in addition bear the entire amount of the loss incident to the freeing of the slaves. Any distinction between Danish and foreign planters in the matter of indemnification, such as seems to have been proposed, was doubly dishonorable.

Other grievances of the colonies are touched upon, the letter concluding with the following paragraph: "A just indemnification, a sufficient immigration of free labor, an influential Colonialraad and a strong government are the fundamental points upon which the future well-being of the colonists rests."

time had been taken to append all the finery the person in question possessed. Marriage was most lax, among the higher as well as the lower classes, and three-quarters of the children born on the island were illegitimate. The sentiment of the Danes seems to have been decidedly against formal marriages with blacks or mulattoes.⁷

The government of the islands after the fall of the company appears to have been of a careful and reasonable type. Desire for an expansion of territorial possessions and a wish to aid the company had led Christian VI. to purchase St. Croix (1733) from the French. The price paid was 750,000 livres.⁸ The miserable administration of the company on this island conspired with the rest to bring about the buying-out of the company by Frederik V. In the negro troubles that followed, the government seems to have displayed clemency and thereby to have saved itself much expense and its island citizens much loss of life and property. Complaints were not lacking, however, and the government became passive, rather than active, in later times. No successful effort was made to further education in the colonies, nor to establish adequate sea-connections. The school-fund was used up in St. Croix, and Sunday Schools, maintained by private persons, formed almost the sole educational factor in the other two islands. Postal arrangements were particularly inadequate; letters were left at the nearest store and often lay there for long periods, until the recipient happened to be apprised of their presence. Many were lost; how letters from North America, coming always via Havana, managed to reach their destination, has always remained something of a mystery to the islanders themselves.

Other details of administration were better managed. Tolls, harbor dues, etc., seem rarely to have been excessive, under the royal government. The first "colonialraad" was formed in 1852, under the governor as presiding officer. Its members were twenty in number, four from the king's selection and sixteen elective in the island. Municipal affairs were in the hands of a council of five citizens, who received no remuneration, save honor, and were not responsible to anyone. They held no open sessions, but submitted a yearly report; they were regularly selected from the best men of the island and seem to have served with fidelity and economy. The

⁷ Erindringer, etc., p. 114 ff.

⁸ The livre of the period was worth about nineteen and one-half cents.

governor received under the company a very small salary, but his position carried with it, of course, a number of fees and perquisites. In spite of economy, however, the royal budget of the islands shows for 1850-51 a deficit of \$48,662.

The climate of these islands is well known. Its baleful effect upon the morals, and so the health, of the Danish colonists, was pronounced. Intemperance of all kinds was prevalent, and gambling, for high stakes, aided in the general demoralization. Of the diseases noted by the Danes, malaria, yellow-fever, influenza, and small-pox were the most serious, fatalities occurring prevalently in the lower classes of the population. Tables of mortality for the years 1835-50 inclusive show an average yearly death-rate of one in twenty-six (416 in an average 11,000 population). Earthquakes are frequent, but harmless; but hurricanes are prevalent (127 in the 352 years from 1494-1846), and very destructive; the islands are in the direct track of these storms.

The trade-history of St. Thomas, which stands as a fair type for the other colonies, exhibits certain characteristics incident to its geographical location and political history. It is to be noted, first of all, that the harbor of St. Thomas formed an admirable haven, entirely adapted to the safe concealment that was so often a desideratum in the days of privateering and contraband traffic. This harbor was situated at the cross-ways of the trade-routes of that day. To these natural advantages were added the great political advantages of an almost constant neutrality and a free-haven status. The abbé Labat, writing in 1701, notices these favorable conditions, and states that the Danes derived great profits from the constant European wars, as prizes of both sides, and of free-booters, were brought here to be sold; the island also enjoyed advantages in the silver-trade with South America. St. Thomas was, in a word, a West Indian market-place of the first rank. The production of the island, with its light soil, was small, and prices were regularly high, but on the other hand, acquisition of wealth was easy and many resident foreigners had already grown rich. Though St. Thomas's harbor was declared a free haven for the first time in 1724, it had really been so for years before.

The company's baleful influence upon the island's prosperity has been noted; an indirect evil result was seen, when, at the demise of the company, Danish merchants were for some years too timid

to seize upon the palpable advantages of the trade. During 1756 not one Danish ship entered the harbor. In fact, a number of merchants left the island, and circulating currency became so scarce as to lead to an issue of paper money for which the authorities were responsible. Depopulation was so much feared that a law was published according to which anyone who left the island must surrender to the government $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his income and real property. In 1773 St. Thomas had 39 sugar and 43 cotton plantations. Of the 4,233 inhabitants, 265 were white, 336 colored and 1,067 slaves. St. John boasted 104 whites and 2,330 slaves. Expenses slightly exceeded income; and from 1755-92 trade amounted to little. In 1792 however, a great change occurred, coincidently with the European wars. Trade rose to unknown heights, and between 1792-1801, 1,569 foreigners naturalized in the island. A number of fugitives likewise came from San Domingo, and at the end of the century the population numbered about seven thousand. But between 1801 and 1815 the advantageous neutrality of the Danes was broken by forces they could not control. From April, 1801, to February, 1802, St. Thomas was in British hands, and though trade rose again promptly after the restitution, a second violent break came in 1807. The Danes having refused England's proffered defensive alliance, the islands were seized and held until 1815.

That the Danes valued their possessions highly in 1801 is evidenced by contemporary authority;⁹ the feeling against England was exceedingly bitter. During the English occupation, English merchantmen alone were to be seen in the harbor and trade was very small. American products were diverted and passed over St. Bartholomew, which at this time enjoyed an ephemeral importance; St. Thomas enjoyed the direct trade of British North America alone.

After 1815 events again conspired to render St. Thomas prosperous. During the wars of emancipation of the Spanish continental colonies, many native Spaniards emigrated to the island, and the harbor was a resort of free-booters flying the flags of Buenos Ayres and Colombia. The period *circa* 1824 is regarded by some as the culminating point of St. Thomas's prosperity. But the condi-

⁹ Werfel, as above. Oxholm (*De Danske Vertindiske Öers Tilstand i Henseende til Population, Cultur og Finance-Forfatning*, Kjöbenhavn, 1797) gives considerable detail as to the condition of the islands at the end of the eighteenth century. His book is an answer to certain "Breve fra St. Croix" containing articles upon the management of the islands.

tions which created this status were short-lived. The evil day was delayed for some years by the opportunities afforded for trade with the neighboring Porto Rico and for the financing of its early development; many sugar-raisers in Porto Rico could not have begun or prosecuted their industry without the credit afforded by St. Thomas. But, with characteristic international ingratitude, as soon as this aid was no longer indispensable, it was rudely put aside by the levying of heavy import-dues against St. Thomas, and by other means. In 1855 imports to St. Thomas (half from Europe and half from America) were valued at \$5,000,000; St. Thomas merchants still continued to finance Porto Rico to some extent, but the Danish island was evidently and surely on the decline. Denmark has been willing to part with her colonial possessions for a sufficient consideration several times since the middle of the nineteenth century; later years have witnessed no revival of trade.

This appears only natural when one reflects on the conditions which lent the former prosperity. The rise of modern transportation facilities, and the substantial peace of the world, implying as they do the passing of the narrower system of the former centuries, render a free, neutral harbor, and, indeed, a harbor of such central position as St. Thomas held, of comparatively less importance. Way-stations and concealment-stations are less in demand. Even the piercing of a waterway between the continents does not promise much for the future of these islands. As the city of small harbors has given way to the port like New York, which possesses, virtually, no harbor in the old sense of the term, so the small and local way-station has fallen away in a commerce on a grand scale in world-wide markets. St. Thomas's excellent harbor will doubtless remain a frequented coaling-station, but its former commercial importance is no more.

True colonization in the West Indies was clearly beyond the strength of Denmark, as it was beyond the strength of the Portuguese in India. The mother-country was too remote and too small, the competition of greater peoples was too strong. A decision to part with the islands would seem to be the conclusion of wisdom, and considerations of national pride alone can oppose it.

This exceptional experiment in tropical colonization by a Scandinavian people runs, therefore, through most of the characteristic phases to which the student of colonies is used. In so far, it goes

to show that the general course of events has followed the order of a natural and inevitable evolution. No particular virtue in avoiding stock errors, nor vice in committing peculiar and unusual mistakes is to be found in the Danes above other nations; economic evolution runs its course for Greek and Scythian alike, and they submit, each in his own way, to inevitable conditions and movements. In isolated cases, such as that of the Danes, though the local setting of the experiment is of curious, rather than of vital interest, essential economic and political truths are likely to emerge with especial simplicity and definiteness.

IV. Political Relations of the United States with Latin America

The Treaty Relations of the United States and Colombia

By John H. Latané, Ph.D., Washington and Lee University

THE TREATY RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND COLOMBIA

BY JOHN H. LATANÉ, PH.D.

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The relations of the United States and Colombia have been largely concerned with questions relating to the isthmus of Panama. The first treaty by which the United States acquired rights and assumed obligations in regard to the isthmus was that signed with New Granada (now the republic of Colombia) in 1846 and ratified in 1848. The thirty-fifth article of this treaty contains the following important provisions: (1) "The government of New Granada guarantees to the government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States, and for the transportation of any articles of produce, manufactures or merchandise, of lawful commerce, belonging to the citizens of the United States," upon the same terms as shall be enjoyed by Granadian citizens. (2) "The United States guarantee, positively and efficaciously, to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists." (3) "The United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the right of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

This treaty was to remain in full force for a period of twenty years and was not to be terminated then or at any time thereafter without twelve months' notice from one of the parties. Relying upon its guaranties the Panama Railroad Company, composed mainly of citizens of the United States, obtained a concession from the government of New Granada and between the years 1850 and 1855 constructed a railroad across the isthmus from Colon to Panama.

The terms of this treaty were first invoked by the United States

in support of the claims of its citizens who suffered personal injury and loss of property in the Panama riot of 1856. On April 15 of that year a party of about nine hundred and fifty passengers, including many women and children, had just been carried over from Colon to Panama *en route* for California, when a quarrel arose between a drunken passenger and a negro, who kept a provision stand, over the price of a slice of watermelon. A general riot ensued, in which the police joined the natives in their attack upon the Americans. When order was finally restored it was found that about twenty persons had been killed and twenty-nine wounded. Most of the killed and about half the wounded were Americans. The claims for property destroyed amounted to about half a million. In view of the inability of the Granadian government to afford adequate protection to the transit route, the United States sent two special ministers to Bogota with the draft of a new treaty. This draft provided for the payment of a lump sum, the amount to be determined by mutual agreement, in satisfaction of the claims growing out of the riot of April 15. The more important features of the treaty, however, were those which provided for the creation of a belt of territory twenty miles broad along the line of the railroad from ocean to ocean. New Granada was to retain her sovereignty over this belt, but it was to be under the direct control of two self-governing municipalities, one at the Atlantic and the other at the Pacific terminus of the road. It was further proposed that the United States should acquire control of certain islands in the harbors at each terminus as naval stations. These proposals were rejected by New Granada.¹

The subject of a new treaty was then dropped and the question of indemnity for the unfortunate occurrences of April 15 was urged upon the attention of the New Granadian government. These negotiations were finally transferred to Washington and resulted in the convention signed by General Herran and Mr. Cass, September 10, 1857, by the first article of which New Granada acknowledged her liability. This article is, in part, as follows:

"All claims on the part of corporations, companies or individuals, citizens of the United States, upon the government of New Granada, which shall have been presented prior to the first day of September, 1859, either to the Department of State at Washington, or to the minister of the United States at Bogota, and especially

¹Correspondence in relation to the Proposed Interoceanic Canal, etc., 23.

those for damages which were caused by the riot at Panama on the fifteenth of April, 1856, for which the said government of New Granada acknowledges its liability, arising out of its privilege and obligation to preserve peace and good order along the transit route. shall be referred to a board of commissioners, consisting of two members, one of whom shall be appointed by the government of the United States and one by the government of New Granada." The commissioners were to appoint an arbitrator or umpire to decide upon cases on which they differed in opinion.

The government of New Granada delayed ratifying this convention until the delay called forth an emphatic remonstrance from Mr. Cass.¹⁶ In a note to General Herran, dated June 4, 1858, he said: "When the negotiations for the settlement of the difficulties between our respective countries were brought to a close by the conclusion of a treaty on the tenth of September last, it was the confident expectation of this government that the treaty would be ratified by New Granada without delay or objection. The arrangement was not entirely satisfactory to the United States, for it left unadjusted several subjects of difference, some of them of much importance, arising out of the transit route and out of the measures in relation to it proposed to be adopted by your government. . . . I informed you at the commencement of the discussion between us that the recognition by your government of its responsibility for those aggressions at Panama and an arrangement for their satisfaction were considered by the United States indispensable to the success of our negotiations."

On August 16, 1858, General Herran informed Mr. Cass that the convention had been ratified by his government with certain modifications and with the following explanation as to the effect of acknowledging liability for the riot at Panama: "It is understood that the obligation of New Granada to maintain peace and good order on the interoceanic route of the isthmus of Panama, of which Article 1 of the convention speaks, is the same by which all nations are held to preserve peace and order within their territories, in conformity with general principles of the law of nations and of the public treaties which they have concluded." The object of this "explanation," it appears from General Herran's note of the same date, which was itself somewhat ambiguous, was to guard against the establishment of this case as a precedent or the interpretation of the convention as

creating a new obligation. He says in this connection: "The convention was framed for a determinate object. This being attained, the instrument will, *ipso facto*, stand annulled, as is the case with treaties, from the moment that the period of their duration has terminated. It could not, therefore, contain a stipulation, granted in general terms, applicable to all such cases as might occur and the duration of which would have to be unlimited."

The convention was ratified by the United States Senate in March, 1859, with the acceptance of this explanation and with some other minor amendments and immediately sent to General Herran. A few days later he brought up the subject of certain grievances which the government of New Granada had against the United States arising out of the alleged non-payment of tonnage and mail taxes. Mr. Cass replied, under date of March 31: "I have simply to repeat the substance of what has been stated to you in our personal conferences, that, until the convention of September, 1857, has been ratified by New Granada, this government is not prepared to enter upon any further discussion in reference to the various points mentioned in your note." After still further delay on the part of New Granada and an extension of time by the United States Senate, the ratifications were finally exchanged November 5, 1860.

When the commission had been organized under this convention and was ready to proceed to the adjudication of claims, Mr. James M. Carlisle, the agent of the Granadian government, offered to submit evidence to show that damages were inadmissible. He contended that the admission of liability on the part of New Granada in the first article was merely an admission of liability to have claims made against her and not of liability for damages. This question was referred to the umpire, who decided that the liability of New Granada was fully admitted by Article 1, and could not be raised before the commission. They then proceeded to pass upon the claims presented, and when the time for the legal expiration of the commission arrived, March 9, 1862, over one hundred cases remained undecided. An effort was made by the United States to have the time extended, but the Colombian minister had no authority to grant an extension and there was no way of postponing the legal expiration of the commission. After nearly two years' delay, occasioned in part by revolutionary outbreaks in Colombia, a supplemental convention was signed February 10, 1864, the ratifications of which were exchanged

August 19, 1865, providing for the reorganization and continuance of the commission for a period of nine months from the exchange of ratifications. The sum total of the awards made by the commission under the convention of 1857 was nearly \$500,000. The awards under the supplemental convention of 1864 amounted to something over \$85,000.²

In 1862 the Granadian government, through its representative at Washington, notified the United States that a revolutionary chief, who was then trying to subvert the Granadian confederation, had sent an armed force to occupy the isthmus of Panama, and called upon the United States to enforce its guaranty. Simultaneously the same information was received from the United States consul at Panama, and the President instructed the United States naval commander at that port to protect at all hazards and at whatever cost the safety of the railroad transit across the isthmus. The Granadian government, however, was not satisfied with this action, and urged the United States to land a body of troops at Panama, suggesting that it consist of three hundred cavalry. In view of the critical situation in which the United States government found itself by reason of the civil war, President Lincoln hesitated to take such action without consulting Great Britain and France, and accordingly Mr. Seward instructed our representatives at London and Paris to seek an understanding with those governments on this subject. He declared: "This government has no interest in the matter different from that of other maritime powers. It is willing to interpose its aid in execution of its treaty and for the benefit of all nations. But if it should do so, it would incur some hazard of becoming involved in the revolutionary strife which is going on in that country. It would also incur danger of misapprehension of its objects by other maritime powers if it should act without previous consultation with them." The points upon which he wished to sound England and France were: "First, whether any proceeding in the matter shall be adopted by the United States, with the assent and acquiescence of the British and French governments. Secondly, what should be the force and extent of the aid to be rendered to the Granadian confederation. Thirdly, whether these governments will unite with the United States in guaranteeing the safety of the transit under the authority of the Granadian confederation, or either of these objects, and the form

² Moore's "International Arbitrations," 1361-1420.

and manner in which the parties shall carry out such agreement." In a conference between Mr. Adams and Lord John Russell, the latter declared that he did not consider that the contingency had arisen which called for intervention; that so far as he could learn no attempt had been made to obstruct the free transit across the isthmus. The French government took substantially the same view.³

The publication of these dispatches in the volume of Diplomatic Correspondence transmitted with the President's message of December 1, 1862, drew from Mexico a protest against the position taken by the United States in inviting the co-operation of European powers in the affairs of America. In a note to Mr. Seward dated March 19, 1863, Mr. Romero reminded him of the sufferings Mexico was then undergoing as a consequence of European intervention, and added: "In the opinion of the government of Mexico, the result could have been none other than that of a European intervention, if the proposal which the United States made in June last to the cabinets of St. James and the Tuilleries to send land forces to the isthmus of Panama, with a view of protecting the neutrality of the isthmus, had been accepted by the governments of Great Britain and France." In his reply Mr. Seward declared that the United States was in sympathy with the views expressed by the Mexican government, and he expressed his regret that the character of the correspondence in question had been misapprehended.⁴

In 1864, during the war between Spain and Peru, it was feared that Spain might insist on sending troops and munitions of war across the isthmus. Colombia notified the United States that in such an event she would call upon the United States to intervene. Fortunately the necessity did not arise, but the Attorney-General expressed the opinion that according to the terms of the treaty such intervention would be obligatory. The following year the question arose as to the obligation of the United States to protect the isthmus against invasion by insurgents. To a request from Colombia for troops Mr. Seward replied in a dispatch to Mr. Burton, dated November 9, 1865: "The purpose of the stipulation (contained in the thirty-fifth article of the treaty of 1846-48) was to guarantee the isthmus against seizure or invasion by a foreign power only. It could not have been contemplated that we were to become a party to any

³ Dip. Cor., 1862, 131, 162, 380.

⁴ Dip. Cor., 1863, 1150.

civil war in that country by defending the isthmus against another party. As it may be presumed, however, that our object in entering into such a stipulation was to secure the freedom of transit across the isthmus, if that freedom should be endangered or obstructed, the employment of force on our part to prevent this would be a question of grave expediency to be determined by circumstances. The department is not aware that there is yet occasion for a decision upon this point.”⁵

The question as to the right of the United States to land troops on the isthmus without first obtaining the consent of the Colombian government was raised rather unexpectedly in 1865. In September of that year, Rear-Admiral Pearson landed some marines and a band from his flag-ship at Panama, without asking permission of the local authorities, for the purpose of rendering the customary naval honors to the remains of Alexander McKee, late consul of the United States at Panama. Two days later the president of the state of Panama addressed a note to Rear-Admiral Pearson, in which he protested against this act and added: “I expect, therefore, that in case it shall be necessary to disembark armed naval forces in future, it will not be done without the consent of the authorities in this place, which represent the sovereignty and independence of the nation.” Rear-Admiral Pearson replied, taking exception to the views presented by the president of Panama and entering upon a discussion of the treaty. The government of Colombia took the matter up at this point and addressed a note to the minister of the United States resident at Bogota, in which were set forth the views of that government as to the meaning of the treaty. Mr. Seward reviewed the whole controversy in his dispatch of April 30, 1866. As neither the president of Panama nor Rear-Admiral Pearson was vested with diplomatic powers, Mr. Seward held the view that the whole correspondence was out of place. He admitted that Admiral Pearson should have asked permission, but held that, in view of the friendly relations existing between the two countries, the criticisms passed upon his neglect to do so were uncalled for. He refused to discuss the main point at issue, that is, the right to land troops without the consent or permission of Colombia, and added: “A government cannot justly be expected to give explanations and guaranties in regard to the course it will adopt in hypothetical cases, where it has neither itself

⁵ Wharton's “Digest,” sect. 145.

done, nor suffered its agents to do, any act which implies a want of fidelity to its treaties and other international obligations.”⁶

In view of the continuance of disturbances on the isthmus, Mr. Seward again found it necessary to define the position of his government. In a dispatch to Mr. Burton, October 9, 1866, he said: “The United States have always abstained from any connection with questions of internal revolution in the state of Panama, or any other of the states of the United States of Colombia, and will continue to maintain a perfect neutrality in such domestic controversies. In the case, however, that the transit trade across the isthmus should suffer from an invasion from either domestic or foreign disturbances of the peace in the state of Panama, the United States will hold themselves ready to protect the same.”⁷

The treaty of 1846-48 did not provide specifically for a canal. In 1868 a discussion of the isthmian question was again opened by the United States, and Mr. Caleb Cushing was sent as a special agent to Bogota to assist Mr. Sullivan, the minister resident at that capital, in the negotiation of a canal treaty. As a result, a treaty was concluded at Bogota, January 14, 1869, providing for the cession of a strip of territory for a period of one hundred years and for the construction of a ship canal by the United States either directly or by a corporation chartered for the purpose. This treaty failed of ratification in the United States Senate. In January, 1870, a second treaty, somewhat similar in terms, was negotiated by Mr. Hurlbut, United States minister at Bogota. This treaty was so modified by Colombia that it was finally rejected by the United States.⁸

A discussion with the Colombian minister at Washington as to whether the treaty of 1846 was still in force was raised by Secretary Fish in 1871, based on the ground that General Salgar had proposed certain changes in 1867 and that this declaration of intention to modify the treaty acted as a notice of termination. It does not appear from the correspondence that Mr. Fish had any very serious intention of abrogating the treaty. In fact he seems to have raised the point merely to meet certain demands of the Colombian government in the matter of shipping privileges claimed under the treaty. In his note of May 27, 1871, however, Mr. Fish acknowledged the treaty

⁶ Dip. Cor., 1866, III, 459, 526.

⁷ Dip. Cor., 1866, III, 581.

⁸ Correspondence in relation to the Proposed Inter-oceanic Canal, etc., 36, 61.

as being in force. He said: "Although literally and technically, pursuant to the clause of the thirty-fifth article of that instrument upon the subject, this government might hold that the application made by General Salgar for a revision of the treaty in anticipation of a lapse of the time for its termination might be held to have brought about that result, the intentions of the parties at the time may, as you observe, be allowed to govern the question. General Salgar in his notice did not say that if his proposition should not be accepted the Colombian government would regard the treaty as at an end, and Mr. Seward does not appear to have received that proposition as a formal notice of termination. His silence upon the subject may be fairly construed as indicative of an opinion on his part that, so far as the interests of the United States were concerned, no change in the treaty was required, and the form of the application of Colombia may also be construed to imply that, although she might prefer the changes proposed in that application, she did not regard them as indispensable to its continuance. Under these circumstances it may be said to comport with the interests of both parties to look upon the treaty as still in full force, but as subject to revision or termination in the form and upon the terms stipulated."⁹

In September, 1873, during one of the insurrections so common in Colombia, the transit suffered interference at the hands of insurgents. The Colombian authorities were called upon by the railroad company to render assistance, but owing to their inability to control the situation, United States marines were landed from the *Pensacola* at Colon and from the *Wyoming* at Panama. In his dispatch of October 29, 1873, Mr. Fish deprecated this necessity and outlined his position as follows: "By the treaty with New Granada of 1846 this government has engaged to guarantee the neutrality of the isthmus of Panama. This engagement, however, has never been acknowledged to embrace the duty of protecting the road across it from the violence of local factions; but it is regarded as the undoubted duty of the Colombian government to protect it against attacks from local insurgents."¹⁰

The question as to the right of the United States to convey criminals across the isthmus under the terms of the treaty of 1846 was raised in 1878-79. After considerable discussion this matter

⁹For. Rel., 1871, 243, 249.

¹⁰For. Rel., 1874, 363.

was settled by a special protocol, which provided for the joint custody of criminals in transit.¹¹

In the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, the United States and England had committed themselves unequivocally to the principle of neutralization for any canal that might be at any time constructed across the isthmus at any point. The interpretation of certain clauses of this treaty was a matter of serious difference of opinion for several years. After the adjustments of 1860, however, the obligatory force of that treaty was not seriously questioned until interest in the canal was suddenly aroused by the Wyse concession of 1878 and the subsequent organization of a French construction company under the presidency of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The prospect of the speedy construction of a canal under French control produced a sudden and radical change of policy on the part of the United States. In a special message to Congress, March 8, 1880, President Hayes declared that the policy of this country was a canal under American control. He explained the reasons for this statement in the following language: "The capital invested by corporations or citizens of other countries in such an enterprise must, in a great degree, look for protection to one or more of the great powers of the world. No European power can intervene for such protection without adopting measures on this continent which the United States would deem wholly inadmissible. If the protection of the United States is relied upon, the United States must exercise such control as will enable this country to protect its national interests and maintain the rights of those whose private capital is embarked in the work."¹²

This message was accompanied by a report from the Secretary of State, Mr. Evarts, in which he called attention to the mutual engagements entered into between the United States and Colombia by the treaty of 1846 in reference to the transit route across the isthmus and declared that the guaranty of the neutrality of the isthmus and of the sovereignty of Colombia over the same would be a very different thing when the isthmus should be open to the interests and ambitions of the great commercial nations.¹³

President Garfield, in his inaugural address, approved the posi-

¹¹ For. Rel., 1879, 251, 271, 287. For. Rel., 1880, 319, 322.

¹² "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," VII, 585.

¹³ Correspondence in relation to the Proposed Interoceanic Canal, etc., 313.

tion taken by his predecessor on this question, and very soon after assuming the portfolio of state, Mr. Blaine outlined the new policy in a circular dispatch to our representatives in Europe, cautioning them, however, against representing it as the development of a new policy and affirming that it was "nothing more than the pronounced adherence of the United States to principles long since enunciated by the highest authority of the government." He also called attention to the rights and duties devolving upon the United States from the treaty with Colombia of 1846, and stated that in the judgment of the President the guaranty there given by the United States did not require reinforcement, or accession, or assent, from any other power; that the United States in more than one instance had been called upon to vindicate the neutrality thus guaranteed; and that there was no contingency, then foreseen or apprehended, in which such vindication would not be within the power of this nation. Mr. Blaine further declared with emphasis that during any war to which the United States of America or the United States of Colombia might be a party, the passage of armed vessels of a hostile nation through the canal of Panama would be no more admissible than would the passage of armed forces of a hostile nation over the railway lines joining the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States, or of Colombia.¹⁴

With the long controversy that ensued between England and the United States as to the binding force of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty we are not here directly concerned. The French government, however, assured the United States upon more than one occasion that it did not aim at political control and expressed "its firm purpose to allow the character of the enterprise inaugurated by M. de Lesseps to remain an essentially private one."¹⁵ The failure of the de Lesseps scheme relieved the United States of the danger apprehended from the construction of a canal under French patronage.

Meanwhile there was no serious interruption of the transit until April, 1885, when the Colombian government, through Mr. Scruggs, the United States minister resident at Bogota, confessed its inability during the civil war then being waged, to protect the route and called upon the United States to fulfill its obligations under Article 35 of the treaty of 1846. President Cleveland at once sent a

¹⁴ For. Rel., 1881, 537.

¹⁵ For. Rel., 1886, 385. For. Rel., 1881, 440.

body of troops to the isthmus with instructions to confine their action to protecting the line of the railroad from interruption or violence. As soon as peace was re-established there the troops were withdrawn.¹⁶

The treaty now pending is too lengthy and raises too many new questions to admit of a general discussion of its provisions in the limited space at our command. As far as the guaranties of the United States are concerned, however, the new treaty does not materially alter the situation. The third article declares that "all the stipulations contained in Article 35 of the treaty of 1846-48 between the contracting parties shall continue and apply in full force" to the canal zone, and "the United States shall continue to guarantee the neutrality thereof, and the sovereignty of Colombia thereover, in conformity with the above-mentioned Article 35 of said treaty."

As regards the conditions of intervention this treaty is more specific than the earlier one. By the terms of Article 23, Colombia agrees to provide whatever armed forces may be necessary to protect the canal, "but if the government of Colombia can not effectively comply with this obligation, then, with the consent of or at the request of Colombia, or of her minister at Washington, or of the local authorities, civil or military, the United States shall employ such force as may be necessary for that sole purpose; and as soon as the necessity shall have ceased, will withdraw the forces so employed." Under exceptional circumstances, however, the United States is authorized to act without obtaining beforehand the consent of Colombia. In this case immediate notice shall be given to Colombia of the measures adopted, and as soon as sufficient Colombian forces shall arrive those of the United States shall retire. These provisions leave the employment of armed forces largely in the discretion of the United States.

¹⁶ For. Rel., 1885, 209. "Messages and Papers," VIII, 326.

Reciprocity with Cuba

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RECIPROCITY WITH CUBA

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Within the past three years, reciprocity with Cuba has consumed a large amount of space in newspapers, and has received a vast amount of attention in Congress and at political gatherings. The thought bestowed upon it has been disproportionate to its real importance, in consequence of circumstances which have conspired to bring it forward in a way which would not otherwise have been possible. As a result of all this, the Senate of the United States has given its assent to a treaty of reciprocity with Cuba and that document is now awaiting approval by the House of Representatives. Ratification of this treaty would be a defeat for reciprocity in general which could not easily be retrieved. That being the case, it is not too late to inquire whether we shall after all put our hands to the document under the influence of considerations largely political and sentimental in character, or whether we shall be guided by some larger principles of statesmanship than those which would dictate the hasty ratification of a treaty likely to produce the results already intimated. It is believed that an historical review of our relations with Cuba considered in the light of the general principles of reciprocity will furnish the basis for answering the question of expediency thus propounded.

I.

In considering our reciprocity relations with Cuba, three principal periods should be considered. The first covers the years immediately after 1880 when it was sought to avoid tariff revision in this country by the introduction of a reciprocity policy. This conscious effort to secure reciprocity made its appearance at that time, as will be remembered, chiefly because the tariff was then definitely before the public as an issue; while, in view of an industrial situation which dictated a more liberal policy in regard to raw materials and other prerequisites to manufacturing in competition

with foreign countries, the Republican party scarcely dared to go to the polls with a policy of unmodified protection. Conditions were rendered even more embarrassing by the promises, constantly made from other authoritative Republican sources subsequent to the civil war, to remove duties originally imposed upon manufactured goods because of military necessities.

In the search for some countries which could be induced to go into reciprocity negotiations in a way which would produce the desired results in the United States, it was manifestly impossible to place much reliance upon Europe. The European free-trade movement had already terminated, and in its place there had come an era of discriminating tariffs and a war of duties. Eastern trade had not then developed to a considerable extent. The effort to get into better commercial relations with Canada had been looked upon with disfavor ever since the close of our earlier reciprocity treaty. In short, the only part of the world which seemed thoroughly available as a place in which to develop markets was the continent to the south of us. We had long sought to get a greater control in South America than had actually fallen to our share, and some persons in the United States had been disappointed that our vigorous enunciation of the Monroe doctrine had failed not only to wean the South-American countries from their allegiance to the European nations with which they were most closely allied by blood, but also to draw them to our side, both commercially and politically. It is not to be doubted that during the period from 1880 to 1885 the idea that we might succeed in using reciprocity very much as it had been used in the case of Hawaii was popular with some statesmen. This point of view was manifested in the discussions over the renewal of the Hawaiian treaty as well as in many public utterances of the time. President Cleveland himself, while strongly antagonizing reciprocity as a whole, nevertheless felt called upon to concede to it a certain success in the case of Hawaii, and this later led him to favor the renewal of the Hawaiian treaty even in the face of his own declarations on the general policy therein involved. It is easy to see how men, who were not imbued with Mr. Cleveland's general notions on free trade or with his general opposition to all efforts for foreign dominion, should have readily grasped at reciprocity, not merely as a means of promoting commercial expansion, but also as a scheme for gaining a foothold in foreign countries.

The nature of the movement which was thus actively making in favor of reciprocity may be understood from a study of our efforts to secure reciprocity with Spain in regard to certain of her possessions. These efforts came to a head in 1884 when a treaty was finally negotiated providing for the grant of tariff concessions to us in Cuba and Porto Rico in return for similar reductions to the inhabitants of those islands trading with the United States. There were some features involved in this treaty besides those which related merely to commercial concessions. It was desired to supplement the old treaty of 1795 (with Spain) by some more modern provisions as to commercial freedom, the protection of the rights of persons and property, and the "most favored nation clause" which were not to be found in that document. The main object was, however, to extend our trade to the islands and to obtain such mutual arrangements in regard to shipping as would stimulate our commerce. In the treaty, as actually negotiated, American vessels were granted the same privileges as Spanish vessels in trade between Cuba and Porto Rico and the United States, this privilege applying both to our own goods and to foreign products re-exported from American ports. Certain restrictions and regulations to which our trade had always been subjected in the custom-houses of the Spanish possessions were abrogated by Articles iv, xvii and xviii. Moreover, the levying of new export duties on the products of Cuba and Porto Rico was prohibited. Tonnage duties were to be abolished and it was agreed that no greater internal revenue charges should be levied upon American products in the Spanish islands than upon native products. The abolition of consular fees was stipulated, and it was also ordered that tonnage fees imposed on all American goods shipped to Cuba and Porto Rico against which we had for some time past protested (as equivalent to the levying of a special duty on our merchandise) should also be withdrawn. Full protection to life, property and capital of American citizens in the islands was guaranteed, and the "most favored nation clause," interpreted according to our traditional policy, was recognized. On the basis of these more or less elaborate stipulations, there was built up a structure of mutual commercial concessions. Cuban tobacco, both leaf and manufactured, was granted a reduction of 50 per cent and sugar was relieved of a like proportion of duty. In return for this concession, free admission into Cuba was granted to all kinds of meat,

fish and fowls, lard, butter, cheese, fruits and vegetables and all kinds of grain, except wheat, the duty on which was reduced from \$3.15 per hundred kilograms to fifty cents, while flour was reduced from \$4.70 to \$2.50 and \$1.65 per barrel of different grades. Cattle, hogs and various agricultural productions were to be free. Thus an excellent show of securing openings for our agricultural products was made. The only trouble was that most of these articles were not imported by Cuba at all or were imported in very limited amounts. The real point of the treaty was found in the concessions guaranteed to American manufactured goods. They included almost every kind of material intended for building; all products of cast iron and steel; implements and tools, particularly agricultural; machinery and apparatus of various kinds and materials suitable for the construction of railways, for ship-building, and for other arts. On another long list of articles, large reductions were made and these were amply sufficient in amount to enable our manufacturers to compete with success against foreign producers of these same lines of goods.¹

This treaty was regarded as highly favorable to the United States. Mr. Frelinghuysen, then secretary of state, wrote as follows concerning it:

"The need has long been recognized of some arrangement by which the natural markets of the large communities lying at our doors should be secured under beneficial terms for the principal productions of the United States. In return for this, we grant certain return favors whereby the articles, mainly raw materials or food products which this country does not produce, or produces in inadequate quantities, shall reach their market of consumption in this country. Tariff duties for the most part greater in foreign possessions in respect to manufactures than in the United States in respect to the crude materials we consume, have hitherto operated as obstacles to the desirable natural movement of trade between our ports and theirs. This has been notably the case with the Spanish Antilles. It follows, therefore, that any change which cheapens the price of the necessities of life in Cuba and Porto Rico will increase the demand and so benefit the United States."²

The usual objections to the treaty were of course made.³

¹ A full discussion of this treaty may be found in Senate Executive Document No. 10, 48th Congress, 2d session.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

³ Mr. Blaine, when the McKinley act was under discussion, explained the history of the reciprocity treaties with Spain and Mexico, as follows:

"Six years ago the prime minister of Spain, in his anxiety to secure free admission to our markets of the sugar of Cuba and Porto Rico, agreed to a very extensive treaty of reciprocity

It was shown that whereas Cuba and Porto Rico supplied us with only a limited amount of our sugar and tobacco, the price of sugar to the consumer would remain about the same so long as any had to be imported from other countries, and the result would be that what we gave up in the shape of duties would simply go into the hands of Spanish planters in the shape of increased profits without stimulating our trade with the islands through lower prices and, consequently, stronger demand on either side. These objections, however, had comparatively little weight. The sugar production of the United States was inappreciable in amount compared with the total consumption, and there was something to be said in favor of granting concessions to Cuban sugar in order to put the refiners of the Atlantic Coast on more nearly the same basis with those of the Pacific Coast, since it would be possible for them to acquire control of sugar lands in Cuba as the Spreckels and other interests had done in Hawaii. Cuban tobacco, moreover, could not be considered a competitor of American tobacco. The trade of Cuba went predominantly to England and Germany, and it might be expected that the new arrangement would do much to turn it in our direction. On the whole, therefore, the treaty had many commendable features. It was unfortunate that the final arrangements were consummated just as an administration was to go out of office. It was sent to the Senate, but upon the accession of President Cleveland to office in 1885, it was withdrawn for further consideration and possibly for amendment. This action had its indirect as well as its direct effect. A treaty of the same kind with Great Britain covering our trade with the British West India Islands had been in process of negotiation, but these negotiations were broken off when England learned of the withdrawal of the Spanish treaty from the Senate. An agreement very similar to the treaty negotiated with Spain had also been arranged with Santo Domingo. One with Mexico was also under consideration.

with John W. Foster, then our minister at Madrid. A year before, in 1883, a very admirable treaty of reciprocity was negotiated by General Grant and William H. Trescott, as United States commissioners, with the republic of Mexico—a treaty well considered in all parts and all its details—whose results would, I believe, have proved highly advantageous to both countries. Both these treaties of reciprocity failed to secure the approval of Congress, and failed for the express reason that both provided for the free admission of sugar. Congress would not then allow a single pound of sugar to come in free of duty under any circumstances.”—*Letter of Secretary Blaine to Senator Frye, New York Daily Tribune, July 26, 1890, p. 1, col. 5.*

II.

It was not until after 1884, however, that the idea of reciprocity with South America attained full growth and manifested its strength in the appointment of a commission, consisting of three members and a secretary, which was to visit the various South-American countries with the design of promoting trade relations between them and the United States. This visit, which culminated in the International American Conference of 1889, developed very clearly the fact that reciprocity with South-American countries, in order to be successful, must provide for reductions of duty upon either wool or sugar. The protected wool interests of the country were of course altogether too strong to be tampered with, but at the time of the International American Conference the development of the sugar interest had not reached a point where it was unreasonable to expect that its opposition to tariff reductions might be overcome. As the result of this situation, and again with the design of allaying tariff-reform sentiment at the same time that it sought to get rid of the troublesome treasury surplus, the McKinley act provided for reciprocity based upon concessions in sugar, tea, coffee and hides. Of these, only sugar was a real step in the direction of greater liberality since the reciprocity of the McKinley act was little more than a threat to impose duties on the other commodities—tea, coffee and hides—which had previously been free. The adoption of sugar as a reciprocity commodity, however, at least opened half way the door which had been pointed out by the South-American commission in its recommendation that wool and sugar should be used as the basis of reciprocity, they being almost necessarily the only commodities upon which we could hopefully depend in our effort to get into better relations with South America. This too was of special importance as concerned Cuba since that island was one of the South-American countries which would naturally base its reciprocity upon sugar, leaving wool as matter for negotiations with the countries farther to the south. It was in the natural course of events, therefore, that the treaty of June 16, 1891, should be negotiated with Spain acting on behalf of Cuba and Porto Rico. "Owing to existing treaties with other nations," as Mr. Blaine himself expressed the matter, it was necessary to adopt a temporary schedule, but the final provisions of the treaty became operative July 1, 1892.

Like all of the group of the treaties negotiated under the McKinley act, this agreement with Spain, in return for the concessions made in that act, provided for the admission into Cuba and Porto Rico of building materials of various kinds, unmanufactured iron and steel, mining materials, and machinery and railway construction-equipment without duty. It also admitted corn, wheat, wheat flour and various other articles at a considerable reduction of duty. Articles like petroleum, manufactured cotton, leather manufactures, etc., received a reduction of 25 per cent, while many kinds of iron and steel manufactures of a highly developed character as well as preserved meats, sauces, jams and certain other articles were granted a reduction of 50 per cent.

In the case of Cuba as in that of other countries, the object in the reciprocity treaty was to secure admission to that country for all those manufactured goods which we produced in large quantities, but which it was obliged to import either from the United States or from Europe. The underlying principle was to gain the market so far as possible at the expense of European sellers, and in return therefor to admit to our own market the reciprocity commodities enumerated by the McKinley act which were either not produced at all in the United States or in insignificant quantities only, and which, therefore, could not be dreaded as a source of possible injury to American producers.

Those who consider only the gross statistics of trade with the South-American countries which entered into reciprocity agreements with us under the McKinley act, would find it, in most cases, a matter of greater difficulty to recognize any particular effect directly traceable to the new treaty arrangements. Cuba, however, forms an exception. In the case of that island it appears that during a treaty period lasting from September 1, 1891, to August 27, 1894, exports from the United States largely increased, rising from \$13,084,415 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890, and \$12,224,888 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, to \$17,953,570 during the fiscal year 1892, and to \$24,157,698 during 1893. Exports fell off again during the year ending June 30, 1894, when they were only \$20,125,321, but the effect of the termination of the treaty was apparently seen during the year July 1, 1894, to July 1, 1895, when exports amounted only to \$12,807,661, although a part of this decline must be attributed to general disturbances in the island.

There was thus a marked increase of trade with Cuba during the life of the reciprocity treaty. Taking the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, when our trade reached its largest proportions, some idea of the effects of the agreement may be gained by examining the details of our exports. Of the \$24,157,698, which represented our gross shipments to Cuba, the largest items were wheat flour to the amount of \$2,821,557, general machinery \$2,792,000, miscellaneous manufactures of iron and steel \$1,344,000, lard \$4,024,000, lumber \$1,192,000, hams \$761,000, illuminating and lubricating oils \$546,000, bacon \$557,000 and potatoes \$554,000.¹³ In short, it thus appears that our large increase in exports to Cuba was really found in those particular lines which were favored under the reciprocity treaty.⁴ On the other hand, our other exports to Cuba were in exceedingly small amounts. As to imports from Cuba during 1893 (when the gross amount brought to the United States was valued at \$78,706,506 as against a total of \$53,801,591 in 1890), it appears that the increase was narrowly confined to a very few articles. Sugar alone in 1893 amounted to \$60,637,000, or more than the gross aggregate of our imports from Cuba prior to the treaty, while unmanufactured tobacco was about \$9,000,000, a result which makes it evident that little else besides these two commodities came from the island during the year in question. The falling off in American exports after the abrogation of the treaty occurred chiefly in flour, meat products and machinery, while the decline in imports (which fell to \$52,871,259 in 1895) was largely a falling off in sugar. That commodity again reached substantially the level it had found before the McKinley bill was passed.

III.

The practical abrogation of the McKinley treaties in consequence of the passage of the Wilson act in 1894, might have led to a decline in trade with Cuba under any circumstances, but as already intimated, the actual falling off must be attributed in part to general disturbances within the island. It seems to be clear, however, that the loss of the reciprocity treaty with the United States was sharply felt, and when, after the Spanish war, the question of making the Platt amendment an integral part of the Cuban constitution, came up, the

⁴House Report, No. 2263, 54th Congress, 1st session, pp. 245 ff.

desire of certain sugar interests for reciprocity made its appearance in a distinct form. President McKinley's alleged pledge to the Cubans that they should have a reciprocity treaty with the United States was probably given, if at all, without fully taking account of the fact that a sugar industry had grown up since 1890, which was determined to permit no infringement upon its protected preserves. On the other hand, it is quite likely that Mr. McKinley in making such a pledge—if pledge there was—fully realized that the step would be not displeasing to certain sugar interests in the United States which had acquired control in Cuba. The situation was rendered more difficult by the fact that the Dingley act which had, in 1897, superseded the Democratic legislation of 1894, had not replaced sugar on the list of reciprocity commodities in which treaties might be made solely by executive authority. It was, therefore, necessary that any reciprocity treaty with Cuba should receive the special sanction of the Senate since sugar and tobacco were the only articles in which it would have been worth while for Cuba to negotiate an agreement. Out of such circumstances grew the now familiar Cuban reciprocity struggle of 1901-1903. This struggle was the particular work of President Roosevelt, who on succeeding Mr. McKinley gave an informal pledge to continue the policies of his predecessor so far as practicable. It being supposed that President McKinley had definitely committed himself to the support of reciprocity with Cuba, this, therefore, was one of the inheritances thought to be carried over from the McKinley administration to its successor.

In his first annual message to Congress, presented at the opening of the session, 1901-1902, President Roosevelt used the following words:

"In Cuba such progress has been made toward putting the independent government of the island upon a firm footing that before the present session of the Congress closes this will be an accomplished fact. Cuba will then start as her own mistress; and to the beautiful Queen of the Antilles as she unfolds this new page of her destiny we extend our heartiest greetings and good wishes. Elsewhere I have discussed the question of reciprocity. In the case of Cuba, however, there are weighty reasons of morality and of national interest why the policy should be held to have a peculiar application, and I most earnestly ask your attention to the wisdom, indeed to the vital need, of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States. Cuba has in her constitution affirmed what we desired,

that she should stand, in international affairs, in closer and more friendly relations with us than with any other power; and we are bound by every consideration of honor and expediency, to pass commercial measures in the interest of her material well-being."

He thus unhesitatingly declared himself for Cuban reciprocity. He did more than this. He put the matter before Congress in such a way that it could not escape the consideration of the subject. He did not allow the political tricksters quietly to shirk the reciprocity issue as they had done for several sessions past, but he employed all the machinery at his command to force the issue upon Congress and compel that body to declare itself one way or the other.

As is well known, the issue was finally brought up in Congress apropos of a bill introduced by Chairman Payne, during the session 1901-1902 and providing for a reduction of our duties, conditional upon a similar reduction to be made by Cuba in her tariff. This reduction was to be 20 per cent, but even so small a decrease as this was resisted by our domestic sugar-growing interests in a way that gave rise to the bitterest fight that had taken place within the Republican organization for a long time. How this struggle turned out, how the lower house finally passed the Payne bill with a provision conditioning the reduction of duty upon a recasting of the sugar tariff in a way which would be distinctly distasteful to the refining interests which were supposed to be behind the Cuban reciprocity movement, how the bill was finally sent to the Senate and there ultimately hung up because of the difficulty of passing it without the amendments which were certain to be opposed by the refiners, is now a threadbare story. It was not until President Roosevelt had appealed to the country for support and had made Cuban reciprocity an issue in the Congressional campaign that he could count upon a majority that would assent to Cuban reciprocity. In the meantime, however, the situation in Cuba had materially changed. The taunts hurled in the faces of the Cubans themselves by members of the Congress of the United States, the fact that the price of sugar had improved subsequent to the decision of the Brussels Sugar Conference reached in the winter of 1901-1902, to abolish sugar bounties, and a variety of other circumstances had rendered the pressure from the Cuban side much less urgent. As a matter of fact, the administration found itself in an embarrassing position in the fall of 1902 through fear of what might happen if the Cubans should be unwilling to grant

us reciprocity even in case we should be willing to allow it to them. Hence the sending of Major Tasker H. Bliss to Cuba in the early autumn of 1902 to negotiate a treaty which should commit the Cubans to the idea of reciprocity with the United States, and which it might be easier to get ratified at this end of the line, than a bill to the same effect. Major Bliss' return with the treaty, the outcome of the elections in favor of the administration, and other circumstances, fully convinced the domestic sugar growers that assent to Cuban reciprocity in a formal way, at least, would be unavoidable. In a convention held at Washington early in 1903 the domestic sugar growers, bowing to necessity, were graciously pleased to yield their assent to reciprocity with Cuba, but in so doing, they had not yet said the last word. Their representatives in the Senate succeeded in introducing into the document prepared under the direction of Mr. Bliss, a clause, which, if it shall be ultimately preserved, will mean the total and ultimate sacrifice of South-American reciprocity for many years to come. The clause in question provided that so long as the treaty should last, it should not be lawful to reduce the duty on sugar coming from any other country than Cuba below the rates fixed by the Dingley tariff. It is upon such conditions that the Senate has ratified the treaty, which now awaits only the sanction of the House of Representatives to become law. The addition of this remarkable provision to the treaty by the domestic sugar growers adds another element of doubt to a situation already doubtful and makes it of double importance to decide whether we can afford to pay the price demanded for the whistle called "Cuban reciprocity."

IV.

The grounds upon which reciprocity with Cuba may be urged were fully stated in President Roosevelt's message to Congress of June 13, 1902. In that message, the President pleaded for reciprocity from four distinct standpoints. He contended that such reciprocity should be granted (1) because of a moral obligation to Cuba; (2) because of an alleged pledge given at the time the Dingley act was passed to adopt and put into force reciprocity treaties—owing to the unduly high tariff rates which had been provided for, with the distinct intention of lowering them when it should be practicable to negotiate such agreements; (3) because of the increased commercial

advantages which would accrue to us in consequence of the compensating reduction of duty to be made by Cuba; (4) because of political advantages resulting from the influence in Cuba probably to be acquired by us in consequence of generosity to the island.

This statement of arguments made by President Roosevelt fairly sums up what has been said by the pro-reciprocity pleaders of recent years. At first sight, it appears to be a rather heterogeneous mixture. It seems to prove too much. Any one of the arguments thus set forth would, if fully substantiated and allowed to stand alone, be a sufficient plea for the cause in behalf of which it is cited. But when it is sought to establish that the policy in question is the dictate alike of moral obligation, business advantage, political policy, and a promise already given, the argument seems almost to fall of its own weight. We can hardly do better, however, than to consider these arguments one by one, coming as they do from so authoritative a source and summing up most of the current discussion of the subject.

Of the various arguments for reciprocity with Cuba, none perhaps is hazier than that which claims a moral obligation on our part. This argument seems to be based upon two distinct contentions. The first of these is that President McKinley had promised such a reciprocity treaty. The second is that the Platt amendment, incorporated by the Cubans into their constitution was in itself such a pledge, or at all events evidence of such a pledge as, it has been claimed, President McKinley gave. Of the two arguments thus advanced, little or no weight needs to be given to the alleged promise of President McKinley. It has again and again been stated that such a promise was given, but up to the present time no documentary evidence to that effect has been submitted. On the other hand, it has been repeatedly stated on the floor of Congress that no such pledge had been offered, but that the Cuban delegation in Washington mistook kind words and promises of support from the President for an agreement on his part to see the reciprocity treaty through Congress. This portion of the claim, therefore, may evidently be neglected, and when it is further considered that, even supposing that such a pledge had been given, it must have been made without any authority from Congress, it is sufficiently plain that both the evidence that such a promise existed and any binding quality in the hypothetical promise, if it was ever made, are absent.

A more serious phase of this argument is found in the contention that the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitution constituted a practical pledge on the part of our Congress. Yet investigation will show that this argument is as empty as its companion piece.

The army appropriation bill containing this amendment was adopted by the Senate, February 27, 1901, and finally became law March 2, immediately following. As soon as the provisions of the Platt amendment had become known in Cuba there ensued a period of heated discussion. Many maintained that the Platt amendment would practically result in destroying Cuban independence. The right retained by our government in clause III to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, etc., was considered as giving us the authority to intermeddle with the affairs of Cuban government. An effort was made to destroy this impression by means of a dispatch sent by Secretary Root to General Wood on the third of April, in which the authority feared was expressly disclaimed. In spite of this protest, however, the Cuban constitutional convention continued to hesitate, until finally, June 12, 1901, it adopted an ordinance identical with the terms of the Platt amendment.

In discussing this important document, it does not appear that anything was said in Congress which would throw light upon the proper interpretation of clause I, regarding the power of Cuba to make treaties with foreign nations, except the general statement that the island should not thereby impair its independence. Commercial treaties were nowhere mentioned in the course of debates. Most of the discussion hinged upon our power of interfering in Cuban affairs for the purpose of preserving the independence of the island. The effort was made by amendments to the amendment to limit the authority granted in clause III, to interfere with the affairs of the island, either in case of foreign aggression, or in order to insure Cuban independence. No success, however, attended these attempts.

What the debate did do was to indicate very clearly the political authority which it was supposed this country might, upon occasion, assume. Senator Hoar described the amendment as:

"Eminently wise and satisfactory. . . . In substance, a proper and necessary stipulation for the application of the Monroe doctrine to the nearest outlying country . . . and under the circumstances one which the pro-

tection of the United States, as well as the protection of Cuba, fairly and properly requires. . . . I do not suppose that under this clause 3 the United States will ever undertake to interfere in such local commotions or disturbances as every country, especially every Spanish-American country south of us, is subject to. I do not suppose that is anybody's intention; but only in those grave cases where international interference is proper."

Naturally, the amendment was vigorously attacked by the Democrats, on the ground that to force such an amendment upon the Cuban Constitutional Convention was practically to violate our pledged faith in regard to the independence of the island by reserving the right to interfere and overturn the government whenever we might see fit. This view was expressed by Senator Jones, of Arkansas, in an extreme form:

"The reserving to the United States the right to maintain a government, the United States to be the judge of what that government is, adequate for the protection of life and property, would seem to me to be reserving to the United States the right to overturn the government of Cuba whenever it saw fit."

Senator Morgan took the same view, and further rebutted the contention of Mr. Hoar that the amendment was justified by the Monroe doctrine:

"The Monroe doctrine never had anything to do with a proposition like this. . . . It has no connection with that. That [Art. 3 of the amendment] gives us the right to go into one of these American states . . . [to] . . . exercise the power of the government of the United States for the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty."

Senators Pettus and Tillman also forcibly expressed the opinion that the amendment was a distinct violation of the pledge to establish in Cuba an independent government. And an amendment proposed by Mr. Morgan, stating that the resolutions were submitted for the consideration of the Cuban Constitutional Convention and not as an ultimatum to Cuba was lost. Nowhere was it stated by the author of the amendment or by its supporters, and nowhere was it complained by opponents, that the obligation to look after the economic welfare of Cuba had been assumed by us.

Little needs be said of the contention that reciprocity with Cuba

is desirable in order to assure our prestige in Cuba and to still further support our control in the West Indies and our power over a prospective trans-isthmian canal. Since we already hold Porto Rico, since we could doubtless get the Danish West Indies if we were willing to pay a moderate price for them, and since the conditions of the construction of the canal are such as to render control of it, on the whole, of little worth, it might be concluded that the political argument could safely be disregarded and that political power in Cuba would be of small value to us in carrying out our canal policy. It may be, however, that there are some who would not take this view of the situation, but who would consider the possible acquirement of political control in Cuba to be worth the reciprocity price we are asked for it. To such persons, it would seem sufficient to suggest that the Platt amendment gives us all the political power in Cuba that we could properly obtain by any means whatever short of annexation. If, therefore, President Roosevelt and those who agree with him mean that reciprocity would be an easy means of promoting annexation (as was the case with Hawaii), this phase of the argument should be made clear. It is safe to say, however, that were it thus made clear it would call in few fresh supporters to the reciprocity movement. That the Dingley rates were put at a high figure for reciprocity purposes is undoubtedly true, but is an argument for reciprocity that applies quite as fully to all reciprocity as to reciprocity with Cuba. If, moreover, the latter will impede the general cause of reciprocity, argument based on the Dingley rates must fall to the ground.

The truth is that in discussing reciprocity with Cuba, the only argument that is really worthy of consideration is the claim that advantages in trade will accrue to us from such a relation. The question of trade may be looked at from two standpoints, that of Cuba and that of the United States. If we adopt the standpoint of Cuba, it will appear that the advantage to the inhabitants of the island flowing from reciprocity must depend upon whether they can succeed in getting a higher price for their products—chiefly sugar—in New York under a reciprocity agreement than they could if no such agreement existed. This in turn will depend upon two factors, viz, whether there be any demand for the Cuban product in New York and whether the product when raised and marketed in Cuba is or is not actually in the hands of Cubans or is owned by foreigners.

While the ownership of Cuban lands cannot be definitely stated, it is certain that large amounts of American and other foreign capital have been invested there, and that the benefit to be derived from sales of sugar at profitable prices would accrue only in part, if at all, to Cuban planters. Much sugar is sold on the spot to American buyers at ruling prices. It is also very questionable how far the ability to send sugar into the United States free of duty would benefit the planter since the existence of a close monopoly of the business of refining must inevitably imply as close a control of the demand for sugar and bestow upon the group of individuals who manage the refining industry the power to depress the price of the Cuban product by refusing to buy it. If in fact our refiners should, as is largely the case, pursue the policy of buying in Cuba at the rates established in the world market, and of buying no product in New York, it seems to be certain that the benefit of a tariff reduction would go to a considerable extent, if not wholly, to the refiners. In any event, none of the advantage would go to the American consumer, first because of the existence of the refining monopoly in the United States, and second because of the fact that our need for raw sugar so largely exceeds the supply of that article which could be produced in Cuba. So far as trade is concerned, therefore, it seems unavoidable that the advantages to be reaped from a reciprocity treaty will accrue chiefly to the American sugar refiner, and to some American manufacturers who may find in Cuba a market for their products which they would not otherwise have. Considering the interests of the American manufacturer, it is impossible to suppose that a 20 per cent reduction in our present high rates of duty would have as powerful an effect in turning Cuban trade towards us as did the free admission of Cuban sugar to the United States which occurred in pursuance of the treaty negotiated in accordance with the McKinley act. Yet under the McKinley act, our exports to Cuba increased only by from seven to twelve million dollars above what they had been, prior to the negotiation of the treaty, while our imports increased by some twenty-five million dollars, this increase being largely in sugar. The duties lost by us on the large increase in sugar imports were then greater than the total volume of trade added to our export business with Cuba in consequence of the reciprocity treaty. While it is true that the amounts of duties now to be sacrificed under the proposed reci-

procuity treaty will be much smaller than at the time of our former experience, it is also true that the pull to be exerted by us upon Cuban trade will be, as just shown, much smaller now than it was then since the reductions of duty then offered to us ranged from total free trade on some articles to 50 per cent on others, while the smallest reductions of duty contained in the treaty were 25 per cent. On the whole, therefore, it is fair to expect that the amount of trade gained by our manufacturers would be smaller than the duties lost by the United States in consequence of reciprocity, and which would probably be paid, as we have seen, into the pockets of the refining monopoly which constitutes the sole market for the Cuban product in the United States.

As compared with the concessions granted us under our former treaty of reciprocity with Cuba, the reductions made in the new agreement do not seem very satisfactory. In return for the reduction of 20 per cent which we are to make upon all Cuban products, we shall receive a reduction of 25 per cent on machinery composed of copper, manufactures of cast iron or iron and steel, cotton and manufactures thereof, and various other articles. We shall also receive a reduction of 30 per cent upon butter, chemical products and drugs, some liquors, and certain manufactures, while 40 per cent is granted on knitted cotton manufactures, preserved fruits, paper pulp, wool and manufactures thereof, silk and manufactures thereof, rice and cotton. By a comparison with a treaty of 1891, it will be seen that many of the manufactures upon which we are now to receive a reduction of 25 per cent were admitted free under the original treaty, while many of those on which we are to receive a reduction of 30 per cent or 40 per cent were granted a reduction of 50 per cent under the earlier treaty. It would seem that there are few articles which receive better treatment under the new treaty than they did under the old. This is natural, since our concessions to Cuban products are so much smaller than they were formerly, it being understood that sugar constitutes the bulk of Cuban exports to the United States. While the number of articles of Cuban production actually mentioned in the McKinley act was small, the fact that they were admitted free of duty much more than makes up for the fact that we now propose to let in a large range of articles which are imported either not at all or in very small amounts.

A prime consideration worth attention in connection with the

pending treaty has been already suggested. This is the amendment which was added to the treaty of the beet-sugar men in the form of an addition to Article 8. That addition ran as follows:

"Provided, that while this convention is in force, no sugar imported from the republic of Cuba, and being the product of the soil or industry of the republic of Cuba, shall be admitted into the United States at a reduction of duty greater than 20 per centum of the rates of duty thereon as provided by the tariff act of the United States approved July 24, 1897, and no sugar the product of any other country shall be admitted by treaty or convention into the United States while this convention is in force, at a lower rate of duty than that provided by the tariff act of the United States approved July 24, 1897."

It will be recalled that the commission sent by us to South America in 1884 reported distinctly that "in any convention we, on our part, must admit wool or sugar free of duty, or at greatly reduced rates." It has for a long time seemed to be out of the question to think of securing tariff reductions in wool, and if reductions in sugar are similarly put out of the question by a clause like the one just quoted, we shall be cut off from the use of either wool or sugar as a basis for South-American reciprocity. Inasmuch as the South-American commission regarded these commodities as the only ones upon which South-American reciprocity could be based, it seems also clear that cutting ourselves off from these means cutting ourselves off altogether from any possibility of South-American reciprocity. That being the case, the passage of the Cuban treaty will be a serious defeat for the cause of reciprocity in general, and, since most of the Kasson treaties were founded upon concessions in sugar to South-American countries, the acceptance of the Cuban agreement will mean that the Kasson treaties have been definitely laid upon the shelf for all time to come.

There is another point well worthy of note in connection with the pending reciprocity treaty. This is that we are already doing all that could be expected of us in protecting Cuba, by our policy of levying discriminating duties on sugar coming from other countries. Under the McKinley act of 1890, we merely admitted free the sugar product of Cuba along with that of several other large sugar-producing countries. Of these countries, some, at least, paid export bounties so that Cuban sugar, even when it enjoyed a free entry into the markets of the United States, was in an unfavorable position as compared with the products of other countries. At the

present time this situation does not exist, since we levy our discriminating duty on all bounty-fed sugars,—to which class that of Cuba does not belong. For that reason, Cuban sugar is really better off with regard to the United States market than it ever has been in the past. Should we grant to Cuba a reduction of 20 per cent in our tariff on sugar while at the same time we gave it the discriminating duty, we should be offering altogether unnecessary advantages to Cuba, and since, by the terms of the treaty, it is proposed that we cut ourselves off from making similar tariff arrangements with other foreign countries, these other countries would have, if they chose to seek it, unmistakable ground for complaint.

The truth is that reciprocity with Cuba, in its present shape, is a matter of no interest whatever to our consumers, and of very little interest to our manufacturers. It is of importance to the Americans who have become interested in Cuban lands, and it is of importance too, to the refining interest which hopes by this means to get its raw material cheaper. How far it will help the Cuban planter is problematical. To the American statesman, interested in our foreign relations, it is a question of absolutely no consequence unless he be an annexationist, for we already have a sufficient control of the West Indies and all the political influence in Cuba that reasonable men could wish for. Seldom, perhaps, in our history, has there been a more needless and unwarrantable drain upon public emotion and sympathy than in the case of the Cuban reciprocity controversy.

V. Commercial Relations of the United States with Latin America

Causes of Our Failure to Develop South-American Trade

**By Honorable Frederic Emory, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign
Commerce of the Department of State, Washington, D. C.**

CAUSES OF OUR FAILURE TO DEVELOP SOUTH-AMERICAN TRADE

BY HONORABLE FREDERIC EMORY

Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce of the Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

From a survey of reports from our consular officers during the past decade, it would seem to be evident that the main cause of our failure to develop South-American trade is that we have practically left it to develop itself. There has been no lack of agitation of the subject among our business men, or of efforts on the part of the federal government, by the appointment of visiting commissions and instruction of its diplomatic and consular representatives, to supply the information and incentive for concerted action. During this whole period, moreover, there has been in existence a special agency, in the Bureau of the American Republics, for promoting trade between the Latin-American countries and the United States, which, in recent years, has had the cordial support of all the governments, and from its inception, has had the active co-operation of most of them. If, with all these advantages, we have made but little progress except in the countries nearest us—as Mexico, Central America and the West Indies—may we not conclude that the causes lie in purely commercial conditions and not in any lack of artificial aids?

The meagre results of our trade propaganda in South America are the more remarkable, in view of the fact that our consuls tell us that American goods find favor everywhere, and in many instances, are preferred to similar goods of European origin. Thus, for example, the Argentine Republic takes our barbed wire and agricultural implements; Brazil, our sugar mills and saw mills, our plows and reapers; Chile, our railway supplies; Colombia, our coffee and sugar machinery, glassware, hardware, beer and wines; Ecuador, our axes, shoes, furniture, clocks, cutlery, hardware, stationery, canned goods, etc.; Peru, a great variety of articles, including agricultural and mining machinery, hardware, clocks and watches, typewriters and cottons. In Uruguay, our agricultural implements are

making headway and we are also selling windmills, harness, carts and wire. In Venezuela, our drugs, rope, wire fencing and cotton goods find favor. It should be noted that, in all these articles, we have to compete with European goods.

It must be assumed, therefore, that in general, the fault does not lie with what we have to sell the South Americans—although, of course, we are at a disadvantage in not manufacturing, as the Europeans do, especially for their market—but in the lack of proper instrumentalities and of vigorous effort to extend our trade. Most persons, in considering the subject, seem to assume that, if the proper instrumentalities were supplied, the requisite effort would not be wanting, and that the volume of our sales would soon begin to show a large increase. It has seemed to me, however, that this—to use a homely phrase—is putting the cart before the horse. The establishment of adequate steamship lines and of better banking facilities; the extension of more liberal credits; the adoption of methods of packing specially suited to South-American conditions; the production of goods in qualities, patterns, dimensions to meet local tastes or trade requirements; the employment of commercial travelers able to converse with the people in their own language; the adjustment of tariff relations on a more liberal basis of exchange—all these are important agencies of growth, which have again and again been urged by our consuls, and here at home have too frequently been regarded as all-sufficient panaceas. But of what avail, in a large sense, would any of them be, if our manufacturers and exporters failed to utilize them except in a casual and negligent manner?

It is just here, it seems to me, that we find the key to the whole situation. Until the business community of the United States makes up its mind that it is worth its while to go into South-American trade on the large scale of its dealings with Mexico, with Canada, with Europe, the tools and vehicles we might provide could not be profitably employed. That our export interests have not arrived at this decision as yet is a proposition that can hardly be disputed. The plain truth is that the home market still absorbs all the energies of the average manufacturer, and will continue to absorb them so long as times are prosperous and there is an active demand for his goods. It is only when the home market becomes stagnant or depressed that he looks abroad, and then merely for openings to dispose of accumulating stocks. He has but a transient interest in foreign trade, and

waits with longing for the revival of domestic prosperity. Exception must be made, of course, of some of our industries which, pursuing a far-sighted policy, continue to cater to foreign custom even when they are pressed to fill home orders, knowing that, if they hold the foreign markets they have won throughout a period of active demand in this country, they will not have to win them back again in the hour of need, but will always have them as a safety-valve in times of repletion. In general, however, we cannot be said to have got much farther than the incipient stage of development as a nation manufacturing for export, and thus far, in selling goods abroad, we have been content to follow easy channels and to seek only those foreign markets that make the fewest demands upon us other than those we are accustomed to meet at home.

It is for these reasons that our greatest measure of success in selling manufactured goods has been won in Europe, in Canada, and in Mexico. The European countries and Canada, especially, consume much the same kinds of goods as we manufacture for our domestic customers, and we have the advantage of conceded superiority in many articles, especially those of a labor-saving character. Moreover, the facilities of trade intercourse are relatively cheap and ample, and the conditions of exchange, such as terms of payment, tariff regulations, freights, methods of packing, etc., are well understood. But even with these countries, there has been, during the past year or two, a marked subsidence of our export activity, due to general prosperity and the greater profits to be reaped at home. This fact would seem to prove beyond cavil that sales to foreign customers are still, as has been intimated, very much of a side issue with most of our industries. Our consuls have frequently commented of late upon the indifference shown by American manufacturers to foreign orders. In a report printed by the State Department on the seventh of April, for instance, Consul-General Lay, of Barcelona, says: "In consequence of the prosperous state of trade in America, I find little or no desire on the part of our manufacturers to interest themselves in commerce with Spain at present. In one case which came under my notice, a trial order for a sample lot of goods was sent to a firm in the United States, along with a remittance in payment, but the order was declined on the plea that, being unable to cope with the demand at home, foreign orders could not be accepted."

If, for business reasons of this character, we find it advisable

for the time being to neglect our more profitable foreign customers, is it to be expected that we shall put forth very strenuous efforts to win less accessible and less remunerative markets, such as those of South America? Upon the other hand, that there are no insurmountable barriers to the extension of our trade over that continent because of racial or other differences is clearly shown by the remarkable growth of our sales to Mexico and the investment of American capital in that country to the amount, as estimated by our Consul-General, Mr. Barlow, of five hundred millions of dollars. Our progress in other Latin-American markets which are within easy reach, such as those of Central America and some of the West India Islands, affords similar ground for confidence, and we may safely conclude that, if we can compete with European goods in European markets, we need not fear their rivalry in South America when we set to work in earnest to bid for the trade.

The whole problem, therefore, seems to resolve itself into this: Shall we have to wait for such slackening of home demand as will again induce export activity before our manufacturers can be persuaded to enter seriously upon the commercial invasion of South America, or will our enormously increased and constantly increasing output of manufactures create, of itself, a condition of surfeit which will ultimately compel us to a systematic effort to find and maintain new outlets for our surplus goods, not only in South America, but in other parts of the world to which we have shown ourselves to be more or less indifferent?

The solution is to be found only in the course of events, but it may be assumed that one or the other result is sure to follow. In the meantime, it is most desirable that we equip ourselves by study, by organization, by experimental effort, and so far as possible, by providing mechanical facilities such as transportation lines, banks, tariff agreements, etc., for making the most of the opportunity when it comes.

European Trade Relations with South America

**By Wilfred H. Schoff, Secretary of the Commercial Museum,
Philadelphia**

EUROPEAN TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AMERICA

BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF

Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia

The subject of our trade relations with South America is one which has commanded the attention of our statesmen for many years past, and particularly since the great work of Secretary Blaine in calling attention to the bright promise of future trade under the encouragement of reciprocal treaties. It has been so often pointed out as to be familiar to everyone that our imports from South America have steadily increased in proportion to the increase in our own population and the demand for staple South-American products such as coffee, rubber and chocolate, while at the same time our exports of American products and manufactures to the South-American republics have remained practically stationary, or in some cases have even decreased within the past generation. It is generally assumed that this unfavorable balance of trade is absorbed by our European competitors, and that in some way we are failing to secure our just share of the import trade of that continent; the corollary being that the European nations, Great Britain, Germany and France more particularly, are selling a larger share of commodities than their purchases would ordinarily warrant. It is the purpose of this paper to point out some of the causes which must prevent us from forming such a conclusion.

The foreign trade of South America is, and always has been, different from that of the United States, and the causes must be sought for in the different character of its natural resources and the different method by which the continent has been peopled and exploited. There was only one strong motive which led to the early expeditions of discovery and settlement in the western world, and that was the search for gold and the other precious metals to swell the treasuries and promote the development of the European nations, which were then being awakened by the Renaissance from their millennium of sleep. It was due to the discoveries of Columbus and

the conquest of Cortez and Pizarro that the Spanish Empire was brought in the sixteenth century to the pinnacle of its power in Europe, and it was the one thought of the adventurers who laid claim to the new lands in the name of the Spanish crown that the gold and silver mines which they contained would contribute to the maintenance of their home country as the dominant power of Europe. Their expeditions were all organized to seek for precious metals and not to settle, till and peaceably develop. The territories overrun by the Spanish conquerors received no economic benefit from their visitation. If gold were found or seized, it was shipped to Spain, and when the soldier-adventurer's thirst for gold was satisfied, he returned to enjoy his wealth at Madrid or Seville. Under the rule of the Spanish kings, the policy was for a partition of the continent among a relatively few favored parties, who were in a measure held responsible for the draining of the territories committed to their care. This policy was not materially changed in the Brazils after the separation of Portugal from the Spanish crown. Although the colony yielded little gold, the agricultural production under the slave system amounted to the same thing.

North-American settlements did not begin until a century later. The north Atlantic coast, shunned by the Spaniards because of its bleakness and the absence of any known deposits of gold, became attractive to European enterprise only when religious differences and the growing restiveness of the middle classes and country population in northern Europe created a demand for territorial extension and colonization. The settlers of the English, French and Dutch colonies, Canada and Louisiana were men who had broken their home ties and who came to the New World to recreate their farms and homes under conditions of greater religious and economic freedom. Their very existence depended upon their ability to increase and develop the economic value of their surroundings and to replenish, rather than diminish, the productive power of the land. This class of settlers found little encouragement in the Spanish main, and the forays of Drake and Hawkins brought no practical return beyond the temporary money loss to Spain. And in Spain itself, there was no popular movement in the direction of religious freedom or of economic advance which could make sufficient headway to encourage any tendency to permanent colonization by the middle classes. The American colonies of Spain and Portugal

remained, then, as closed preserves dedicated to the search for gold and to production by slave labor; and when the Spanish power crumbled and went to pieces before the successive onslaughts of England, the French monarchy and Napoleon, the descendants of these first conquerors, who had remained in possession and who so nobly fought for and won their national freedom, found themselves masters of a house swept clean, a land impoverished of its mineral wealth and without a population trained to agricultural industry, economy or mental freedom. Under such conditions the history of South America, after the recognition of its independence, could not be other than one of commercial stagnation, and for a time even of national retrogression.

The American republic found itself at birth fully equipped with the elements of national progress. Agricultural development had been the mainstay of the land for a century, and the ravages of the war were quickly repaired. The South-American republics, on the contrary, found themselves with the elements of progress all to create. Agriculture had been left for the most part to the half-breeds and slaves. Gold and silver had been drained from the land until the mines were apparently worked out, and the responsible population, of high breeding, bravery and energy though it were, was yet too sparse to make much of a showing over the vast areas committed to its control.

In the face of such conditions, the South-American proprietors naturally took the most direct means to the acquirement of wealth. Their land was rich and fertile, the warm tropical sun left them little work to do in the planting and harvesting of crops, and their over-sea trade in tropical staples, already of importance in the colonial times, was developed as far as possible; but even so, the path of the new nations was not an easy one. As long as Brazil remained a part of the kingdom of Portugal, Brazilian coffee, sugar and chocolate were entered free in the market of Lisbon and thence sold throughout southern Europe. With the separation of Brazil and the establishment of the empire under Dom Pedro, these commercial favors were withdrawn, and Brazilian coffee, shut out of the Portuguese market by preferential tariffs in favor of the remaining Portuguese colonies, had to seek a market elsewhere. The United States, always the most valuable market for the sale of coffee, did not yet furnish a large consumption, and the destructive wars of the Napo-

leonic period, which had forced the imposition of heavy taxes upon all articles of consumption in France, Germany and England, stifled the coffee trade there. It is worth remembering that the English tax upon coffee has never been removed, and that one of the most promising markets in the world is still closed to this most important article of Brazilian production.

Greater obstacles confronted the South-American state-builders than those which our forefathers had to surmount. The east coast settlements, separated from the west and from each other by leagues upon leagues of impassable jungle, and infested not only by hostile savages and wild beasts, but by that more insidious enemy—disease, were thus prevented from establishing means of intercommunication, and in large measure turned aside from the ambition to explore and push their settlements toward the interior. There grew up, then, a series of isolated communities in which local passions and narrow political strife found easy sway.

The influential men of the new states were not blind to the difficulties which beset them. They saw clearly the need of opening up the country and providing means of communication which should permit the planting, harvesting and shipment of crops and the cheaper transportation of ores to the coast. As the country did not itself possess sufficient accumulated wealth for the accomplishment of such a purpose, it became necessary to float foreign loans, and as early as 1824 the Brazilian government came before the bankers of London for a substantial issue of bonds. In the temporary enjoyment of greater political stability through her imperial form of government, Brazil was able to establish her credit sufficiently to issue new loans as the need arose to convert and carry on the old and still to maintain a position of confidence in the London market, but, unfortunately, a large part of these loans went, not into permanent improvements in the country such as would increase its productive capacity and actual wealth, but into the liquidation of current deficits and the cancellation of internal indebtedness. Year by year they built up a debt which seriously threatened their credit and very existence. It is true that railways and other public works were constructed and that a comparatively large area was thrown open to the cultivation of coffee, but this very development seems to have resulted in ultimate loss to the country through the enormous over-production of coffee which followed and likewise through the concentration of

the productive capacity upon a single crop, which in times of high prices might bring wealth to Brazil, but in lean years meant poverty, deficits and greater indebtedness. To this misfortune was added the far greater one of a depreciated and fluctuating currency. The original gold coinage of Brazil was replaced first by Peruvian silver, which yielded the government a profit of 20 per cent, and this silver was greatly debased by alloy until it reached such a point as not to be passable, when it was replaced by paper currency, which as early as 1819 had become redundant. The Brazilian nation at its outset found itself confronted by a premium on gold and a corresponding lack of power in the world's markets. Since 1825 the milreis has been quoted at its par of 27 pence at the rarest intervals, falling to 17 pence in 1868, again to 19 in 1886, and touching par on the eve of Dom Pedro's overthrow in 1889, only to fall within the next six years to such a point that at the lowest quotation, 5 pence and a fraction, the total receipts of the government would have been barely sufficient to meet the interest on its foreign indebtedness. With a currency of such unstability, it was of no value to the country that its soil was fertile and its climate productive. A good year too often meant an over-production of coffee and fall in prices and a further depreciation of the currency; while the nation seemed to learn few lessons from its reverses and made no movement toward the cultivation of other crops either to feed its own people or to provide a reserve of income when the price of coffee should fall. This still continues as a striking feature of Brazilian production. The rich uplands of the state of São Paulo, capable of raising in superabundance any crop known to the science of agriculture, are devoted altogether to the coffee tree, and the fazendeiros must too often submit to the destruction by fire or decay of their unsalable coffee; while the breweries, in the valleys around which tons upon tons of hops and barley might be produced, are forced to send to Germany for those materials.

The position of Brazil, it is true, is somewhat different from that of the other South-American nations, and yet its vast area, practically one-half of the entire continent, and its population, certainly two-fifths of the whole, have to an extent caused it to influence the trade and economic position of its neighbors; and the foreign trade of Brazil, as already indicated, is sufficiently uncertain to deter the average business firm, unacquainted with its peculiarities, from ven-

turing to enter it. The exports of Brazil have steadily increased in money value and enormously in weight, while the imports, representing largely the purchasing power of the country, have been practically stationary for the last twenty-five years. The favorable balance of trade shown every year on the face of the returns, has brought the country little added wealth, and has generally been absorbed by the deficits in the budget and by fluctuations in foreign exchange. The policy of protection to national industries has been steadily followed, but the resources and climate are not such as to encourage manufacture to any great extent, so that the finer qualities of all lines of goods must still be purchased abroad. The stationary volume of imports bears mournful witness to the lowered purchasing capacity of the nation. In twenty years the exports of Brazil have more than doubled, while in thirty years the imports have increased by less than 20 per cent, and the quality of imports has been very fluctuating, with a notable tendency to cheaper purchases in all directions.

The experience of Brazil and that of her southern neighbor, the Argentine Republic, are in many respects similar. Blessed by a less tropical climate, and possessing vast areas of arable land, the first ambition of the Argentine statesman was to secure the construction of railways, and both domestic and foreign loans were floated for this purpose. A succession of good years and high prices, made higher by an unfortunate year or two in Russia and the United States, turned the eyes of Europe upon the Argentine Republic as one of the world's most important granaries. English capital was poured into the country for the construction of railways and the development of wheat and grazing lands, and for a time it seemed as if any Argentine proposition, good or bad, was certain of a favorable reception in the money market of London. Great railway systems were constructed upon the proceeds of these public and private loans, largely through unsettled territory. Vast areas of private lands were hypothecated as security for more loans, often far in excess of the mortgage value. Finally the inevitable crash came, and with the Baring failure and the resulting merciless liquidation the Argentine Republic found itself in the same condition of temporary over-production of one or two staples, depreciated currency, reduced purchasing power abroad, and compulsory retrenchment. The Argentine statesmen were, however, in a better position than their

Brazilian brethren. They had more lines of railway built and a greater area of land opened up to settlement and cultivation. Their climate was more suited to foreign immigration, and their homogeneous people encouraged and welcomed such immigration. It was not many years, then, before the republic began to recover its losses, and to-day, after a bitter period of commercial stagnation, there are abundant signs of returning stability and prosperity.

The history of the west-coast republics is similar in general tendency, if not in detail, to that of their larger sisters to the east. Through over-assurance in the floating of loans for internal improvements, judgment in the expenditure of the funds received, often, to say the least, unfortunate, torn with internal dissensions and local jealousies, their path through the century has not been of the easiest. They, too, have suffered through financial stringency and depreciation of currency, but are fortunate in having been the pioneers of a movement in the direction of saner financial methods. The currencies of Peru and Ecuador have been firmly fixed on the basis of ten dollars to the pound sterling, with a gold currency and reserve. The Chilean currency is now, after some uncertainty, fixed at the rate of eighteen pence sterling to the Chilean dollar. These new standards, although a reduction in scale from the old, mean stability in foreign exchange and a uniform purchasing power, based more nearly upon the actual productiveness of the country. With losses less in volume to recover, with a territory not so great in extent and more easily opened up to exploitation, and with a fortunate subsidence of the deplorable internal disorder, these three republics have now been enabled to lay the foundation of a sound and enduring over-sea trade, which will unquestionably be greatly expanded by the construction of an isthmian canal and must eventually come in large share to the United States. The prospect of a similar development in the River Plate republics and Brazil is by no means clear. The English, German and French capital, so liberally invested in those republics, has yet in large part to be made profitable, and the machinery of finance is necessarily in the control of European money centres. The banking institutions of the Argentine Republic and Brazil continue under the direction of English, French, German or Italian financiers, and the development of the country and its further opening up to outside settlement is dependent largely upon them. Where it is to the banker's interest to remain and watch his invest-

ment, it is naturally to his interest also to encourage the development of trade in both directions, and as it happens that Brazil and the River Plate republics have shown themselves capable of producing in large measure and at a low price articles of primary consumption required throughout Europe, a profitable trade in such products has been built up and enormously extended during the past twenty years. Fast and well-equipped steamers have been built to carry the wheat, hides, wool, frozen beef and mutton from the Argentine Republic and Uruguay and to carry coffee, tobacco, sugar, cacao and rubber from the different states of Brazil. These steamers are all built and controlled by European capital and ply to European ports. The racial traditions of the merchants at each end of the line are a compelling factor in the strengthening and further extension of such a trade. The distance to be traversed is actually less between the ports of southern Europe and Buenos Aires than between Buenos Aires and New York, and the manufactures of England, France and Germany are in constant, though not notably growing, demand in South America. The immigration is increasingly from southern Europe and Germany. There is, therefore, every reason for the continuance and extension of trade between eastern South America and Europe and many reasons against the development of trade between that section and the United States.

Our relations with Brazil are, of course, more important than with the Argentine Republic, but the figures of that trade, when compared with the general trade between Brazil and Europe, do not show such a disadvantage in our direction as might be supposed. We buy, it is true, sixty millions per year and sell only twelve; but the world at large buys of Brazil nearly two hundred millions and sells less than one hundred. With the Argentine Republic, on the other hand, we are dealing not only with a far-distant country, but with one that is actually a strong competitor in its line of production in the markets of Europe. It is quite within the bounds of reason to expect that with the increase in our own population and the relative reduction in the area of our land under cultivation, more and more of our agricultural products will be required at home, and our exports of such products to Europe will be steadily displaced by those from the Argentine Republic and Uruguay. At present we sell to the Argentine Republic more than we buy. No other great nation is so favored.

How far will the present tendencies of trade in eastern South America change as those nations work themselves free from the clutches of unstable finance and become independent of European control? Racial ties, geographical position and established lines of communication will all tend to maintain the present status. A wider spread of intelligent ideas and a more liberal public education will undoubtedly lead to a more rational development of their own resources in such a manner that the fruits of their industry will accrue to their own enjoyment. The absence of any extensive deposits of iron and the comparative poverty of their coal fields must prevent any great manufacturing development such as has taken place in the United States. Brazil and the Argentine Republic must continue indefinitely to depend upon their exports of natural products as the basis of their foreign trade and national life. They are in the world's markets, then, to dispose of their goods to the best customer and to buy what they require where the best bargain can be made. The wool clip of the Argentine Republic is now almost entirely consumed in France, England and Germany, the cereals are distributed all over Europe, the hides go to France and England, and the frozen beef and mutton, the beef extract and the by-products of the cattle industry also find a ready market in France and England. The conditions in the United States are very different. We require little of all this wealth of production, unless it be hides and wool, and up to the present time both of these products have been excluded from our markets by protective duties. That a growing need on the part of our woollen and leather manufacturers may cause a future reduction of these two duties is quite possible, but even then the volume of trade coming to this country would be so small as to require no particular change in banking methods or shipping facilities to take care of it conveniently. We must look to an increase of trade in the Argentine almost entirely along the lines of specialized manufacture required for the development of that country. This trade must still continue of an occasional character, and the ships chartered to carry the merchandise exported must either look for return cargoes to Europe or come north to Brazil for a cargo of coffee or other tropical products.

Our trade with Brazil may be expected to increase as our need for coffee and rubber increases, but as we are already among the largest per capita consumers of both those products, a more natural

field of increase would be in England, where coffee is still excluded by high taxation, or in such of the European countries as are not now addicted to its use.

The annual per capita consumption of coffee in the United States is nearly ten pounds, and in England, where the war taxes of the Napoleonic period are still levied upon coffee, the per capita consumption is less than three-quarters of a pound. With the exception of Holland, where the consumption is about twelve pounds per capita, no European country equals the United States in this respect, and in most of them the consumption is less than half.

The European capital which has entrenched itself in Brazil and the Argentine Republic will naturally fight to maintain its position, and will be content with the slow working-out of prosperity through periods of depression, of long credits, low interest and uncertainty rather than withdraw and leave the fruits of its labor to a newcomer. Along the west coast, however, where English and European capital has been directed almost entirely to the production of specific commodities, such as nitrate of soda, there is more opportunity for new spheres of influence and much more prospect of commercial and financial relations with the United States. Ever increasing their natural strength, directing their best intelligence to the devising of more stable currency and banking institutions, and applying to their own advantage the knowledge obtained from other countries, the future statesmen of Brazil and the Argentine Republic may be expected to form two nations well fitted to enter into the fellowship of American powers and to help defend the weaker members of the fellowship from outside aggression; but it seems inevitable that this relation of fellowship will continue political and not commercial. Their commerce will continue to follow the line of least resistance, and their own merchants, no less than their associates in England, France, Germany and Italy, will look to the future to retrench the losses, uncertainties and delays of which the past has been so unhappily productive.

Argentine Commerce with the United States and Europe

By Señor Ernesto Nelson, Argentine Republic

ARGENTINE COMMERCE WITH THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

BY SEÑOR ERNESTO NELSON
Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic

Since 1818, when Henry Clay asserted that Spanish America would, in the course of time, necessarily be animated by Pan-American sentiments, the idea has been agitated more or less constantly in this country, of uniting the different nations of this hemisphere in one great federation of commercial interests. However, the results thus far accomplished by the different Pan-American Congresses have not been great. Indeed, the well-known English journalist, Mr. William T. Stead, stated merely an unpleasant truth when after visiting the different American countries he said, last year, that few parts of the world had been less Americanized than South America. Mr. Stead's dictum is, of course, too positive and overlooks the work done in these last years by the Philadelphia Commercial Museum and numerous other agencies.

The closer geographical connection with the tropical zone of South America has caused the people of the United States to exaggerate the unlikeness of productions of North and South America. No portion of Argentina is within the tropical zone. Argentina's latitude is similar to that of the United States. If the surface of the earth could be folded over the equator and the southern hemisphere laid upon the northern, Argentina would extend from Texas to the Northwestern Territory, in Canada. From this fact, it may be inferred that the agricultural conditions of my country are very similar to those of the United States. The Mississippi valley has its counterpart in the La Plata valley, where cereals are the staple of production; the boundless plains are repeated in the fertile pampas, where large herds of Durham and Hereford cattle and flocks of Lincoln and merino sheep are fed with the rich natural pastures; the cotton region is represented by the Paraná delta, the climate of which resembles that of Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas. Sugar-cane is raised in Santiago, Tucumán and Chaco as in Florida. The same

tobacco which has been grown in Maryland and Virginia has prospered under cultivation in Misiones. The attempts to establish coffee plantations in Texas and Florida were followed by similar and fairly successful experiments in Tucumán and Jujuy. The vineyards of California are repeated in the Andes, where they cross the provinces of Mendoza and San Juan. The primeval forests of the northern states are recognized in the entangled woods of Tierra del Fuego, in the southern extremity of the continent. Wheat culture is a success in the more northern regions of the United States and in the southernmost part of Patagonia.

The statement is frequently made that social and commercial intercourse between our two countries is obstructed by lack of transportation facilities. I believe, however, that this is not stating the case correctly. A cause is taken for an effect. I am sure it will be evident to you from the imperfect outline I have given of the geographical and agricultural characteristics of Argentina, that the reason for the lack of transportation must be sought for in the lack of adequate stimulus to commercial intercourse. The most important factor in promoting trade is unlikeness of production between countries. This fact is now as well established in social dynamics as the principle of repulsion between electricities of the same kind is in physical science. It has been suggested that our relations could never become those of rival concerns in competition for the same market. The real facts, however, tell a different story and are worthy of careful consideration.

In Argentina, as in the United States, those industries are most energetically developed which are most necessary to material life. We are bread producers, meat producers and wool producers. Wool is our great export staple. Our annual output of wool is about 230,000 tons. Argentina is the largest wool producer in the world. Fifty years ago the sheep-raising was neglected by the majority of stockmen. Our flocks consisted almost exclusively of native *criollo* breed. With the increasing demand for wool there began to be an increasing interest in the sheep industry and soon the new departure became a most profitable branch of agricultural enterprise. The first care was to produce a better quality of stock. The merino sheep was imported and its blood mixed with that of the *criollos*. As a result, the quality of wool was wonderfully improved. In 1870, Europe's demand for meat began to grow and many stockmen of Argentina

began to convert the merino sheep into mutton, cross-breed types approaching the Down. Argentina was favored by its geographical location. Being nearer to Europe than Australia, the Argentine sheep industry received marked encouragement. The traffic was still further promoted by the construction of the harbor of Buenos Aires, which cost forty-nine million dollars and is second in importance in the whole western hemisphere. The commercial intercourse with Europe was a great boon to stock raisers. At present the large part of the Argentine sheep are of English and merino breeds. This fact is not sufficiently known in the United States, because this country, until 1897 when the Dingley bill was passed, has been the sole buyer of the coarse wool, grown of the remnant of the old *criollo* breed.

The real importance of the Argentine sheep industry will be still better understood when the weight of this somewhat startling fact is appreciated. There was a time when Australia was the first sheep country in the world; but we have left her so far behind us, that at the present we have as many sheep as Australia and the United States together.

In consequence of the development of our sheep and cattle industry, Argentina has been raised to a prominent place in the meat trade. The total export of Argentina has reached 500 million pounds, or as much as Australia and New Zealand furnish together. And yet, these 500 million pounds represent only a fifth of what we could supply without touching the stock representing our capital in this industry. This latter point is of no small importance. All other meat-producing countries, the United States not excepted, are decreasing their exports. As a result, we expect to be the largest meat producers in the world before very long, occupying the first place there as we already do in wool production. Our dairy industry is comparatively young; but already there has been an increase of 375 per cent since it was established.

In farming and particularly wheat-growing, the progress has been equally wonderful. The most improved threshing machines are now to be seen in the centre of Patagonia, the *terra incognita* which literature knows only as the scene of predatory incursions of Indians. The La Plata valley is an extensive and favored agricultural region without a rival in fertility and in capacity for breeding cattle. Here are boundless alluvial plains where the plow can be driven four

hundred miles without striking a stump or a stone. Here is a land of promise for wheat production, where labor is richly repaid. Alfalfa grows exceedingly well, and since we have discovered this fact, we have placed ourselves in possession of the largest alfalfa plantations in the world, thereby increasing the capacity of the land for supporting cattle.

It is evident that all this abundance of raw material produced in Argentina cannot be marketed in the United States. Sixty per cent of the Argentine exports goes to Europe. Last year, out of twenty-four thousand three hundred and thirteen ships which served as vehicles of our commerce with the world, only three hundred and fourteen were American—certainly not a very gratifying showing of trade relations between our two republics.

We have a mutually advantageous intercourse with European countries. Our products are in more demand in Europe than here. We are therefore offered in Europe greater advantages for the sale of our products than in the United States. Our textile fibres and hides are entered free of duty in France, Germany, Belgium and Italy. Argentina has become a commercial annex of Europe. The acquisition of our trade has often become a political factor. During the Anglo-Boer war our meats were preferred to those of Australia in the English markets. The last European crisis in the wool trade was decidedly influenced by the Argentine output. This state of things is well understood in Europe. Quite recently, M. de Villate said in the *Revue de Paris* that for many years the stream of South-American commerce will continue to flow Europewards in spite of all efforts made by the United States to divert it. The Argentine Republic will become, ere long, a close competitor of the United States in the European markets. In Argentina the good lands are cheaper, the soil more fertile and, speaking generally, we enjoy a more equable climate than the United States. Of course we are at a disadvantage as regards distance from the European countries. We are compelled, therefore, to promote intercourse by commercial treaties with those countries, affording protection to their imports. This is the most vital problem that will engage our energies in the future. It is true that the actual population of my country is not sufficiently large to compel trade with us by reprisal; but the immigration is growing year by year, owing to the inducements my country offers to those who are willing to work. The population of

Argentina is growing so rapidly that we have reason to feel hopeful that in the future we shall be regarded by Europe as an important buyer whose friendship is worth cultivating. The new condition will supply the weapon of commercial politics.

The growth of Argentina's industry has been so rapid, and in a measure so unexpected, that it found the country unprepared to make the most of it. For instance, when the sheep industry began to develop there was built an immense house, covering an area equivalent to nine square blocks of New York City. It was thought that this space would be more than sufficient for the necessities of the future. But it had scarcely been completed when it was found too small, and another building had to be planned. A few years ago we imported wheat from Chile. Now we have reached the fifth place as a wheat-exporting country. Again, we were not prepared for this sudden expansion. Until quite recently we had no grain elevators. As a result, we expend millions of dollars for coarse cloth to make bags for the purpose of shipping the grain. Under favorable conditions this demand for bags might have supplied a new field for our textile industry; but our unpreparedness turned the advantages of the situation over to others and we are under the necessity of importing annually enough coarse cloth to wind four times around the earth. Moreover, thousands upon thousands of bags of threshed wheat are very often spoiled by the rains, because of the blockade in transportation and the lack of sufficient tarpaulin to protect them. The waste is enormous, for we do not have enough hogs to fatten with this spoiled material. We furnish an example of what Herbert Spencer calls the "multiplication of effects," that is, the passage from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous as a necessary stage of progress. Before the state of equilibrium arrives for Argentina, many new fields are to be opened to industry.

A great part of the progress we have accomplished and are about to make has been made possible by European capital. Thus, it is estimated that fifteen hundred million dollars of British capital is invested in Argentina. Other nations have many millions deposited in our banks, in national bonds, railways and many industrial undertakings. America's contribution is very small.

Until 1897 the Argentine wool and cowhides entered in this country free of duty; but after the Dingley bill became a law, these products had to pay the regular tariff. Argentina has always

earnestly desired a better understanding with the United States; but the attitude of the American government has been disappointing to us. If the bars were let down, we might do more business with this country. But it is doubtful whether the present state of affairs will be changed in the immediate future. It may be safe to assert, however, that the policy of the United States will have a salutary effect upon the evolution of the sheep-breed industry of Argentina. If our *criollo* wool is no longer purchased in large amounts as in the past, we shall let the remnant of the *criollo* stock-bred turn into merino, and thereby fit our wool production for the wants of the French market, which is looking for finer fleeces.

In view of the conditions described, it seems as though our national destinies would keep our two republics separated in commercial life. But I am also firmly convinced that a complete divorce would be fatal to many of the institutions of my country that are now in process of development. To state the case paradoxically, the more separated Argentina may feel herself to be from the United States, the more closely she ought to be allied with this country. We have the raw material for the genius of the United States to work upon. Here Argentina has much to learn of you. She must learn how to promote development and rapidly meet new conditions to utilize her wonderful natural resources. The Argentine awakening is a new result in the series of events set afoot on the day of the declaration of American independence. We share with you the honor of possessing the constitution which Jefferson and his compeers created. Our people have received part of the heritage left to America by Horace Mann.

No institution is better fitted for the building up of a great republic than the American public school. It develops individual powers and awakens the sense of moral responsibility, in a way no other institution does or can. Argentina may well study and follow the progress made in this particular field of America's wonderful activity.

Even though the United States cannot be a commercial friend of Argentina, it will, nevertheless, be a model for the development of a new race in the southern extremity of this continent.

Conditions Affecting Sugar-Beet Culture in the United States

By Henry C. Taylor, M. S., University of Wisconsin

CONDITIONS AFFECTING SUGAR-BEET CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY HENRY C. TAYLOR, M. S.

University of Wisconsin

The relations of the United States with Cuba and other parts of the West Indies are certain to depend largely on the conditions of competition of beet and cane sugar. For that reason this discussion by Dr. Taylor finds an appropriate place in a collection of papers analyzing the present and prospective relations of the United States and Latin America.—[EDITOR.]

During the last thirty years, beet-sugar production has become a very important industry in Germany. In 1872 Germany was a large importer of sugar, the excess of imports over exports amounting to more than thirty thousand metric tons. In 1898 she was the largest exporter of sugar in the world, the excess of exports being more than a million metric tons. This rapid development of the industry in Germany has led many to believe that the people of the United States may succeed in producing their own sugar supply.

This proposition led the writer to study the conditions under which sugar beets are produced in Germany and to compare the conditions there with those which exist in that portion of the United States which has been designated by the Department of Agriculture as "the probable areas suited to beet culture." The writer is in sympathy with the efforts which are being put forth to extend the sugar-beet industry, but feels that a careful study of the subject from the point of view of commercial agriculture may, to some extent at least, enable the promoters of this industry to avoid misdirecting their energy. It is believed that a comparative study of the crops and field systems of Europe and America will lead to the conclusion that any attempt to establish the beet-sugar industry where it must compete with Indian corn is likely to prove a failure, and that, for this reason, our efforts to establish this industry should be restricted to that part of the beet region of the United States which lies outside of the corn belt.

It has been fairly well demonstrated that vast areas within our borders have the requisite soil and climate for producing beets with a sugar content as high as, if not higher than, those of the best beet regions of Germany; and perhaps it may be conceded that the advantages due to cheap labor in Europe will be balanced by greater skill and the more general use of machinery in the United States. It does not necessarily follow, however, that it will be economical for us to produce our own sugar supply. Suppose that we are able to produce beet sugar at as low a cost in labor and capital as is possible in Germany, and yet in order to do so it is necessary to use land which would yield a larger net return when employed in some other way. Would it then pay to sacrifice the more profitable crop in order to produce sugar? The solution of this problem requires an understanding of the fundamental principles of commercial agriculture. Pliny wrote, that he was a poor husbandman indeed who would buy anything which he could produce on his own estate; but Thaer¹ taught his generation to produce nothing which could be procured more cheaply upon the market. Pliny was writing for a time when the self-sufficient economy of the villa prevailed and when the goal of the husbandman was the direct satisfaction of all the wants of his household. Thaer lived at a time when commerce had so developed and industry had become so diversified that farmers produced primarily for the market, and he stated the most fundamental principle of modern agriculture when he said that each farm should be operated in such a manner as will make it yield the largest long-time average net return, and only those crops which will add to the total net return should be included in the field system, all others should be excluded.

This economic principle, which underlies all commercial agriculture, is an important factor in determining the geographical distribution of farm crops in modern times. It is a commonplace fact that sunshine and rainfall determine in a general way which plants may thrive here and not there, or there and not here. Some plants require much heat, while others thrive best in a relatively cool climate. Some require a great deal of moisture, while others get on with a very little. But while all plants will not thrive under the same conditions, there are always several species present to compete for

¹ Albrecht Thaer wrote extensively on agriculture during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and is remembered as Germany's greatest agriculturist.

each piece of land. This is true on every farm, and the more favorable the soil and climate the greater the number of species which enter into this struggle. When nature is left to herself, the plants which are best fitted for this warfare survive and occupy the land; but when man intervenes plants are divided into two classes, those which are useful and those which are harmful or of no use. The harmful plants are destroyed, the useful ones are cultivated. Under the régime of the self-sufficient agriculture of Pliny's time *all* the useful plants which would thrive were cultivated on each farm. The greater the variety of crops which each husbandman could produce, the greater the degree of his well-being, for each household was a little economic world living unto itself. But under the régime of modern commercial agriculture, where each farmer produces primarily for the city, national or world market and buys upon the same market nearly everything he consumes, his well-being no longer depends upon the variety of his own productions, but upon his power to command the desired commodities upon the market. This power does not depend upon the variety, but upon the cost, quantity and price of the articles he takes to the market. Cost, or cheapness of production, is not the one determining factor; neither is the quantity of the product. The selling price would also be a poor guide in itself. But when the cost of producing an article, the quantity which one man can produce upon a given area, the capacity of the crop to fit itself into the field system, and the farm price of the product, are all taken together, it will be found that, with prices as they are at a given time, some crops will net the farmer a handsome profit, while others can be grown only at a loss. The economic well-being of the modern farmer depends, then, upon his capacity to select and produce that crop or combination of crops which one year with another will make his farm yield the largest net return. Hence, it is no longer natural fitness to win out in the struggle, nor simply some degree of utility to man, but it is fitness to increase the total profit of the farm that determines which of the plants suited to the soil and climate of a region should be allowed to occupy the land.

The largest net return being the economic ideal in modern agriculture, it is the purpose of this paper to point out that even though the conditions with respect to the demands upon soil, climate and labor be as satisfactory, yet the production of beet sugar may

prove relatively unprofitable for the farmers of the corn belt while it is a profitable crop in other parts of the United States and in Germany. This conclusion has been reached by a comparative study of the available crops and of the systems of crop rotation in the two countries under consideration. In central and southern Germany, and in fact almost everywhere in Europe where the soil was not too sandy, a three-field system of crop rotation prevailed during the middle ages and down to the beginning of the present century. This system consisted of winter grain, summer grain and fallow. During the fallow year the land was cultivated carefully to clear the field of weeds and to bring the soil into good tilth. At the close of the eighteenth century the industrial and commercial population was making such demands for agricultural products that the more intelligent farmers began to think it too great a waste to cultivate a third of the arable land each year with nothing growing upon it. A general search was made for crops which could be grown in the place of the bare fallow and at the same time allow the soil to be cleaned of weeds and cultivated preparatory to sowing grain. Unfortunately Indian corn, the one grain crop which can be grown successfully under such conditions, was found to be ruled out by the climate; so potatoes, turnips and beets were resorted to. Besides the root crops, clover was introduced and the rotation changed into a four-course system in which roots, summer grain, clover and winter grain succeed each other in the order given. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth this four-course system gradually replaced the old three-field system with its bare fallow. The root crops came to be called "fallow crops" because they were looked upon as incidental to the fallowing of the land in preparation for the grains. The grains continued to be the most profitable crops.

The old three-field system was the rule in northwestern Europe during the first two centuries of American colonization, yet the bare fallow never became permanently established in the colonies. The colonists were, from the beginning, well provided with valuable crops which could be cultivated while growing. Corn and tobacco made the bare fallow unnecessary and practically unknown in this country long before "fallow crops" were introduced in Europe; and while our country has greatly expanded, cotton, corn and tobacco have continued to make fallowing unnecessary in most parts of the

United States. Of these crops, corn is the one which interests us especially in this paper, because of the relation which exists between the corn belt and the area suited to sugar-beet culture.

The beet region of the United States is described in the Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture (1901, p. 501) as "a large strip of land reaching across the northern portion of the country. It starts at the Hudson, takes in the southern half of New York, the northern portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska, the southern half of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, all of South Dakota, large sections of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington and Oregon, and the coast side of California." By comparing a map of this beet region with one showing the corn belt, it will be seen at once that from the Hudson River to Central Nebraska the southern half of the beet region passes through the very heart of the corn belt, and if sugar beets are to be generally introduced as a profitable crop in the possible beet areas east of the great plains they must show as large a net return, on the long-time average, as corn. It seems to be true, however, that the beet region extends farther north in Michigan than does the area of very profitable corn production. Here we may expect beets to compete with corn more effectively than in the heart of the corn belt.

But why should we ask that beets be as profitable as corn before we introduce them in the corn belt? We grow oats without asking that they be equally profitable. Why not grow beets for what profit there is in them, even if the cultivation of this crop does prove less profitable than the growing of corn? Or again it may be asked, why not compare the profit to be derived from the growing of oats and of beets instead of comparing that of corn and of beets? The answer to this question is made clear when we study those principles which underlie the organization of the farm economy. The intelligent farmer seeks to operate his farm in such a manner as will make it yield the largest net return. The organization of the farm is essentially different from that of the factory. In mechanical pursuits it is the common thing for each man to devote all of his time throughout the year to the production of that one article or class of articles which he can produce to best advantage. In agriculture, however, the production of any one crop requires the attention of the farmer for only a portion of the year, and various crops

demand his attention at different seasons, so that his labor, horses and machines are usually employed more economically in a system of diversified farming than in a single crop system, even if the crop needing attention at one time is less profitable than that requiring attention at another time.

The crops which require attention at the same time of the year may be looked upon as a group of competing crops. Thus the crops which require cultivation for six or eight weeks during the early period of their growth, such as corn, cotton, tobacco, potatoes, sugar beets, etc., may be classed together as a group of competing crops, because they compete for the attention of the farmer—for his labor, his horses, his tools and machinery. The winter grains, rye and winter wheat, or the spring grains, oats, barley and spring wheat, may be given as other groups. We may call these separate groups non-competing groups, because the members of one group require the attention of the farmer at a different time than do the members of other groups. For example, corn, cotton, etc., do not compete with oats, barley, etc. The farmer who seeks to use his labor and capital to the best advantage should select from each group of competing crops that one which will yield the largest net return and should introduce as many non-competing crops into the field system as will yield a profit. When this principle is followed it will often happen that of two non-competing crops in the field system one will yield a larger net return than the other. Yet, when the year's accounts are balanced, it will be found that the net returns are greatest when both crops are cultivated, even if one is less profitable than the other, for each crop represents the most profitable use to which the labor, horses and machines can be put at the given time, and if not used in that way they must be put to a less productive use or to no use at all. But of two competing crops, only the more profitable one should be produced.

With this principle in mind, let us note that while oats and corn may be brought into rotation so as to supplement each other in the economy of the farm, beets and corn cannot be made to do so. Beets may be brought into a system of rotation with oats, but not with corn. In some places, as where the sugar-beet region crosses the corn belt, in the United States, the one may be made to replace the other, but corn and beets cannot be made to supplement each other. The time devoted to the culture of oats is not subtracted from the

time which the farmer may devote to the corn crop. The oat crop is sown and harvested at just the time when the farmer is not needed in the corn-field, and hence oats fit naturally into a profitable rotation with corn. Beets, however, demand cultivation at the same time when the farmer is needed in the corn-field, and if the beet crop increases the corn crop must decrease. Again, the corn and the beets are both cultivated while growing, so that either one prepares the soil for the small grains and makes fallowing unnecessary. Thus we find that beets and corn are competitors, while oats and corn are not. Oats can be grown with profit, even though they do not yield so large a net return as corn, but unless beets yield as large a net return as corn they can be grown only at a loss. Hence the question arises, is beet culture and sugar production more profitable than corn growing and pork production? If so, there is reason for trying to introduce sugar beets in the corn belt. If pork and beef production and the other industries based upon corn are more profitable than sugar production, the profitable culture of the sugar beet must be found outside of the corn belt.

Corn is the one grain which can easily be cultivated while growing. Where corn will not thrive, as is the case in central and northern Europe, the small grains, wheat, rye, oats and barley are the most profitable crops. In parts of southern Europe where it will grow, corn has replaced the fallow, but in those districts where sugar beets are being grown the climate precludes the growing of corn; hence sugar beets have only to show themselves as profitable as turnip, potatoes and fodder beets in order to enter as a profitable element into the field system. Thus, while in Germany the sugar beet has to compete with a relatively unprofitable element in the system of crop rotation, in the corn belt of the United States it must replace corn where corn is king. Hence, it may be true that were the industry once established in the corn belt, our farmers would be able to produce beet sugar at a lower cost in labor and capital than can the Germans, and yet if corn shows a larger average net return than beets, beets will prove unprofitable in the corn belt, while at the same time they may remain profitable in Germany because no very valuable crop is present to compete with them for a place in the German field system. A high duty on sugar may stimulate the sugar-beet industry to expand within the limits of the corn belt, but from an economic standpoint it will not be profitable to the nation until

the beet regions of the world, where corn cannot be grown, are so occupied with sugar beets and the cane sugar regions are so taken up that the price of sugar on the world market will rise to a level which will enable beets to show as large a net return as corn. Let us consider for a moment what is likely to happen in this regard. In France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the western and northern parts of the United States there still remain vast areas which could be devoted to sugar beets if the price of sugar were slightly higher. The cane-sugar industry is capable of very great expansion when stable government makes capital safe in all those countries where sugar cane can be grown. On the other hand, the corn lands of the world are pretty well occupied. The United States is, and will doubtless remain, the principal corn country of the world. The Mediterranean and the Himalayas occupy most of the surface of the Old World which might otherwise have provided the proper climate for corn. Only the narrow part of South America and small parts of South Africa and Australia have a corn climate.

As the population of the world increases there is sure to be an increasing demand for pork and other articles of commerce which are most cheaply produced where corn is plentiful. The demand for sugar will also increase; but when we consider the chances for expanding the two industries, there is no reason for believing that the increasing demand will result in as great a rise in the price of sugar as in the price of corn products. In fact the price of sugar has been falling while the prices of corn products have been rising, and the chances are that the relation between the price of sugar, on the one hand, and that of corn products, on the other, will never be such as to enable sugar beets to compete successfully with corn where the climate is especially suited for corn production. If corn would thrive throughout the sugar-beet region of the United States, the sensible thing would be to abandon the beet-sugar industry at once; for so long as we can get our sugar with less outlay of labor and capital by producing corn and hogs for the foreign market and buying sugar from abroad, it would not be economical to produce sugar beets. There might be political reasons, it is true, for desiring to produce our own sugar supply, in order that we may "be in a position to ignore the foreign product," as Secretary Wilson has said. In this case, however, would it not be wise to look rather

to the promotion of the cane-sugar industry within the United States and her dependencies?

But the "probable areas fitted to beet culture" extend beyond the corn belt to the west and the north. Parts of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Oregon and a narrow belt along the Pacific Coast from the north to the south of California are included within its limits. Here corn will not thrive. Wheat and barley are the most important grain crops. As these states grow older the fallow becomes more and more essential to the successful growing of grain and in the absence of corn as a competitor, sugar beets have only to prove more profitable than fodder-roots, or a bare fallow, in order to be introduced with profit into the field system. Thus so far as competing crops are concerned the conditions are nearly the same in these western states as in the sugar-beet regions of Europe, and there is no reason for doubting that where the rainfall is sufficient the beet-sugar industry of the West will be able in time, without any form of government aid, to compete successfully with the Europeans. A very great deal of the probable beet areas of the West require irrigation, however, and it may well be questioned whether the farmers who must pay the costs of irrigation will ever be able to compete on an equal basis with the European producers in beet-sugar production. It may possibly be found that the humid region outside of the corn belt which is suited to beet culture is sufficient to supply our demand for sugar. But if it is not, and this is questionable, the economy of trying to supply the home demand for sugar by cultivating beets is certainly doubtful.

It may be possible for us to supply our home demand for sugar by developing the sugar industry in the ultra corn-belt areas of beet culture and in the cane-sugar regions of the United States and her dependencies. We find here a suggestion regarding the attitude the government should take in attempting to foster the sugar industry in this country. It is certainly in accordance with our infant-industry policy to encourage, in some way, the development of the sugar industry in the West or any place else where there is good reason for believing that it will be able to stand on its own merits when once established. On the other hand, it is contrary to the same policy to force a growth of the industry in those parts where it cannot be expected to prove profitable longer than while the external stimulus is being applied.

Appendix

Report of the Academy Committee on the Seventh Annual Meeting.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

American Academy of Political and
Social Science

Philadelphia, April 17 and 18, 1903.

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

Soon after the annual meeting of 1902, your committee held a meeting for the purpose of discussing the most available topic for the annual meeting of 1903. After considerable discussion "The United States and Latin America" was decided upon. Although the subject was attracting increasing attention, the committee did not and could not foresee that during the early months of 1903 the attention of the people of the United States and of Europe would be concentrated upon South-American problems. Although there was no lack of newspaper discussion of the South-American situation, the seventh annual meeting of the Academy furnished the first opportunity for a calm and scientific discussion of the many delicate and intricate problems involved in our relations with the governments and peoples to the south of us.

Before proceeding to an account of the sessions, your committee desires to express its thanks as well as those of the officers and members of the Academy to the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, to the president and directors of the Manufacturers' Club and to the officers and board of directors of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum for their valuable co-operation, which contributed so much towards making the meeting a success. Your committee also desires to express its appreciation of the services of those who

took active part in the meeting and whose contributions give to this volume its chief importance.

The expenses of the annual meeting were defrayed in part by an appropriation from the treasury of the Academy, but in the main by a special fund contributed by friends of the Academy. It was largely because of their assurance of support that the committee was able to plan the meeting on so large a scale and to provide for the publication of the proceedings without involving too heavy a burden on the Academy's treasury. To these contributors we desire to express our sense of obligation.

SESSION OF FRIDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 17.

Topic: "International Arbitration on the American Continent."

The annual meeting was opened by the president of the Academy, who commented on the increasing importance of the annual meetings and on the timeliness of the general topic of the seventh annual meeting. He then introduced the presiding officer of the afternoon, the Honorable W. W. Rockhill, Washington, D. C., director of the International Bureau of American Republics.

Mr. Rockhill, in introducing the subject of the afternoon, spoke as follows:

The problems confronting the Pan-American Conferences are to be discussed at this meeting; as introductory to the discussion, I feel that I can not do better than briefly state what these conferences have accomplished, what progress has been made by them for the cause of Pan-Americanism.

History of international American conferences for the purpose of drawing closer together the various relations of the different American states, may be divided into two parts: First, that extending from the congress at Panama in 1826 to that of Montevideo in 1888; and second, beginning with the congress of Washington in 1889, and extending down to the present time. During the first period the conferences, while accomplishing no great material results, served to foster the belief in the possibility of strengthening the ties between the American states, and indicated the most favorable lines along which the work should be prosecuted. With the International American Conference at Washington in 1889, the movement assumed practical shape and results were secured.

The programme of this conference is of interest, as it served as

a basis for the elaboration of a programme for the second congress subsequently held in the city of Mexico in 1901.

(Mr. Rockhill then stated briefly the programme of the congress of 1889 at Washington.)

The lasting results of this congress were the Intercontinental Railway Commission, and its subsequent survey and report; the American Monetary Conference of 1891, which led to the meeting of the Brussels Conference; and the creation of the International Union of American Republics and of the Bureau of the American Republics. However important these results, it can not be said that any part of its labors was vain.

The discussion on arbitration and on the question of reciprocity, which took place during the congress, although, in the case of the first subject, it led to no practical result, advanced most materially this complicated and difficult subject.

Mr. Matias Romero, late Ambassador of Mexico to the United States and one of the delegates to this conference, justly remarked of it, that its first and best result was the sentiment of mutual respect and consideration with which each delegate was inspired for his colleagues and for the nations represented by them. Another result, one which has exercised great influence since then, was the constant intercourse of the delegates for nearly six months and their daily discussion of important questions affecting the paramount interests of their respective countries.

The great interest awakened in Pan-Americanism by this first conference was so lasting that when in 1900 the government of the United States suggested that a second international conference should be held, "in view of the numerous questions of general interest and common benefit to all the republics of America, some of which were discussed by the first International Conference, but not finally settled, and others which had since grown into importance," the suggestion was responded to enthusiastically by all the republics of America, and the conference, at which they were all represented, duly met in the city of Mexico in October, 1901.

The results of this last conference mark another great step in advance of those made by the previous one of 1889.

The subject of arbitration naturally received a great share of the attention of the conference, with the result that The Hague Convention received the unanimous acceptance on the part of the nineteen

republics represented, and the three Hague conventions were recognized as principles of public American international law. A treaty was also signed for the compulsory arbitration of pecuniary claims, and other steps were taken for the extension of arbitration on this continent.

The Intercontinental Railway project, was further advanced by the creation of a permanent committee to continue the preliminary work until the calling of the next Pan-American conference.

Closer commercial intercourse between the various states was promoted by the adoption of a resolution for the meeting of an International Customs Congress in New York within a year, to consider customs administrative matters.

The subjects of quarantine and sanitation were advanced by the adoption of a resolution providing for an International Sanitary Conference.

An International Commission was appointed for the study of the crisis in the coffee industry.

Other conventions were signed providing for the reciprocal recognition of the diplomas and titles granted in the several republics; the international recognition of literary and artistic copyrights; the exchange of official, scientific, literary and industrial publications, and a number of other subjects, all of great interest and value to the cause, but of secondary importance compared to those referred to above.

The Customs, Sanitary and Coffee Conferences have been held, and have led to important and lasting results; and the discussion of the various subjects brought before the conference has given a new impetus to the movement, and to those interested in it renewed energy and hope, and insured further prosecution of the work along the lines now recognized by the experience of two congresses as certain to produce the greatest amount of good to the states of this continent.

The chairman of the Local Reception Committee, Dr. Joseph Wharton, then welcomed the members and guests of the Academy on behalf of the committee.

Mr. Wharton spoke as follows:

Members and Guests of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: When, in this busy modern life, a new candidate for

public attention arises, claiming a share of the time which is already so crowded with cares and duties, that candidate must show good reason for existence or it must be cast out. Can this Academy show such reason? Surely it can.

There is one strong presumption in its favor—namely, that it has lived for fourteen years, and has grown, and is now full of the vital spirit which can carry it on into a distant future. As in the life of a child each added year increases its chance of reaching maturity and of doing the normal work of an adult, so is the chance of long life and usefulness more and more assured to this Academy by each year that passes.

Our nation began as a sort of protoplasmic mass, not an organism, but a loosely coherent aggregation of individuals, pressed together by hostile external forces as much as drawn together by internal attraction; a mass capable of attaining corporate life rather than really possessing it; having, however, the germ and tending strongly to become an organism, with faculties, functions and members suitable to its environment. But our nation had the extraordinary good fortune to be guided, in its early endeavors to become an organism, by men of unusual wisdom. Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Marshall and Story are but shining examples of the men whose constructive and judicial labors gave to the fabric of our institutions its great controlling features, or, to change the metaphor, who breathed into the inchoate mass that which made it a living soul.

Are we who inherit these fruits of our ancestors' labors to rest inert under our new conditions, like the old Jews who believed they must be saved by ancestral virtues? Shall we be content to say "Have we not Abraham to our Father?"

The new conditions do not tolerate such fatuity. The nation, and each of its constituent subordinate communities, must find means to fit itself to these new conditions, or they and it will justly perish. All the multifarious problems growing out of the complications of modern life must be boldly met, mastered and assimilated into our system of government—into our organic life.

Obviously, this requires differentiation of function, development of special faculties by individuals and classes, so that each may do well his part to produce the grand harmony of the state, as the several instruments of an orchestra combine to produce the harmony of music. And more and more essential is it becoming that each person

should be trained in his part. We can enjoy the absurdity of the man who, when asked if he could play the violin, answered that he guessed he could—he had never tried—but is it less absurd for us to expect that legislators, executive officers, diplomats, consuls, etc., coming untrained as many do from shop or farm or old-style college, should perform well their new duties? We expect nothing of the sort in respect to our judges, or our military and naval officers; all of these are in their several ways most carefully trained to their several tasks and consequently perform those tasks for the most part admirably well.

The struggle among the nations for existence and prestige is no longer mainly a struggle of armed forces; it is now rather a competition between the nations in industrial prowess, in subtle management of commerce, transportation and finance. Wealth and power are the prizes; our competitors are the foremost champions of the world.

It is not pretended that this Academy is fitted to educate all the various classes of statesmen and officers alluded to, but its members and increasing numbers of the community believe it to be doing important work by insisting on the necessity of training, by calling attention to this or that topic of public interest, by showing what is done in other countries, by forecasting policy or legislation on this or that topic, by estimating the gains to accrue from this or that course.

No one who looks over the wide field covered by the papers presented at the previous meetings of the Academy can fail to be impressed by the great variety of the subject-matters of those papers, and by the ability with which they have been treated by their distinguished authors. The present meeting is to be addressed upon no less important matters of immediate interest, and by no less distinguished speakers.

The city of Philadelphia has always held an advanced position in respect to the various objects which the Academy endeavors to promote; its citizens join with our own members in welcoming you with all sincerity to participate in the work of the annual meeting which is now open.

Hon. John Bassett Moore, of New York, secretary and counsel of the Paris Peace Commission; Professor of International Law, Columbia University, and former Acting Secretary of State, then

presented a paper on the topic of the afternoon, which will be found printed on pages 33-44 of this volume.

Following the paper by Mr. Moore, Hon. William I. Buchanan, of Buffalo, N. Y., formerly United States Minister to the Argentine Republic and American delegate to the Pan-American Conference of 1901, read a paper on the same topic and the same will be found on pages 45-55 of this volume.

Dr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, then read a paper on "Ethnic Factors in South America," which is printed on pages 23-31 of this volume.

SESSION OF FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 17.

The Annual Address: "The Position of the United States on the American Continent—Some Phases of the Monroe Doctrine."

The first evening session of the annual meeting is always the most important of the series, as it is the occasion for the delivery of the annual address to the members of the Academy. Stuart Wood, Esq., of Philadelphia, the treasurer of the Academy, was the presiding officer of the evening.

Dr. Charles C. Harrison, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, presented the welcome to the guests of the Academy on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Harrison expressed the keen interest of the University in the scientific discussion of the matters under consideration and commented on the fact that the University, in its Wharton School of Finance and Economy, was giving special attention to this class of subjects.

The president of the Academy, Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, then presented a review of the work of the Academy for the year.

Dr. Rowe spoke as follows:

The growth of the Academy since our last annual meeting may be regarded as one of many indications that the American people fully realize that the solution of our complex national problems requires something more than the training of the common school. The theory that the uninstructed common sense of the average citizen will find the best solution for every public question will no longer stand the test of experience. The desire of an ever-increasing proportion of our citizen body to acquaint themselves with the principles

underlying our public policy is a tribute to the serious purpose and determination of the electorate to meet the requirements of the new situation. It must be a real satisfaction to every member of the Academy to know that their organization has contributed in no small degree towards this enlightenment of public opinion. The publications of the year have reached not only our own members, but are also being used as required reading in a considerable number of colleges and universities. Special study classes and debating societies have used the material contained in our volumes as the basis upon which to pursue systematic investigations. We have also to record the fact that the United States Senate recently reprinted an Academy publication as a public document.

These facts when taken in connection with the presence of so many of our members from different parts of the country serve to emphasize the national, yes the international, scope of our work. To the large body of members grouped in and about Philadelphia, the meetings of the Academy undoubtedly appear to be the most important of the Academy's activities. Without in the least detracting from the importance of the monthly meetings and the influence which they exert beyond the limits of this city, the special function of the Academy in disseminating the results of scientific research in the political and social field is best attained through its publications. This work has been greatly aided by the inauguration of a series of special volumes such as have appeared during the last twelve months. Since our last annual meeting the Academy has published four special numbers of *THE ANNALS*, devoted to the following subjects: "Social Legislation and Social Activity," "Current Problems in Banking and Finance," "Current Labor Problems" and "Current Political Problems." A volume on "Charities and Corrections" has also appeared. In addition, one number of *THE ANNALS* was devoted to a more miscellaneous collection of subjects. That the importance of this group of publications has been appreciated is attested by the fact that the applications for membership outside of Philadelphia have been more numerous this year than at any previous time in the history of the Academy.

The fact that the Academy commands the services of a body of trained experts in every branch of the political and social sciences enables us to extend the usefulness of the Academy even beyond its present scope. With each year the number of cases in which the

Academy furnishes material and expert opinion for special investigations is increasing. In this respect a new field of usefulness is opened which possesses almost unlimited possibilities. The Academy must be made the centre to which everyone who is engaged in the serious study of great public questions may look for guidance and support. To make this possible the active interest and co-operation of every member is necessary. Our organization must not depend on the activities of any one group of men. Its policy as well as the results accomplished must be the outcome of the united efforts of that large body of workers scattered over this broad land, representing every shade of opinion and whose common purpose is the search after truth.

The presiding officer then introduced the Honorable Francis B. Loomis, of Washington, D. C., First Assistant Secretary of State, who delivered the annual address on "The Position of the United States on the American Continent," which address is printed on pages 1-19 of this volume.

On Saturday morning, April 18, a visit to the exposition building of the Commercial Museum had been planned. The authorities of the Museum arranged a special exhibit of South-American products and the members of the Academy and guests were conveyed to the building in a special car and conducted through the exhibit by officers of the Museum. This visit proved a most valuable adjunct to the proceedings of the annual meeting and special thanks are due to Dr. William P. Wilson, the director of the Museum and Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, its secretary, to Mr. Macfarlane and the curators of the special exhibits.

SESSION OF SATURDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 18.

Topic: "Conflicts Between Europe and Latin America; With Special Reference to the Public Policy of the United States."

The presiding officer of the afternoon was Mr. Charles R. Flint, of New York. The president of the Academy in introducing Mr. Flint referred to him as one of the pioneers in developing closer relations between the United States and the countries of South America. Mr. Flint's services as one of the originators of the Pan-American Conferences and the leading part which he took at the first conference were commented upon at some length.

Mr. Flint, in taking the chair, spoke as follows :

Members of the Academy, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The maintenance and strengthening of intimate relations, commercial and political, between the American republics have never been as important as at present.

For many years after the formation of our government it was natural that our people should have devoted themselves almost exclusively to the development of our great and varied resources. We then had no surplus time, energy or money to put forth beyond our boundaries. We were seeking labor and capital in Europe in competition with our southern neighbors. During the first century of our existence we were not only a debtor nation, but we were largely dependent upon European bankers. Up to six years ago the total value of our exports and imports about balanced. During the past six years the balance of trade in our favor has amounted to over three billions of dollars. Our wealth has increased during the past fifty years from ten to one hundred billions. Our government bonds are selling higher than the bonds of any other government. We have of late been loaning money in Europe on call, within the last few years we have bought the bonds of Russia, Mexico, Japan and England, and an important loan to a Latin-American state is under negotiation ; so that to-day, instead of competing with our southern neighbors in securing money in Europe, we are in a position to grant them financial facilities, and our ability to do so is rapidly increasing.

The great advantage that the Latin Americans have in dealing with us is that we have evolved the best methods of developing new countries. In the densely populated countries of the Old World there is not the same incentive to invent labor-saving methods and machinery. In new countries they must largely take the place of population, and I believe that to-day the labor-saving machinery and implements which we have sent to Latin America are producing more than three times what could be produced by the entire population without them.

It is evident that the trend of the times is toward greater community of interest between the peoples of the Americas. It is only a question of years when an intercontinental railway, with a bridge across our isthmian canal, will bring us closer together in fact as we are in common interest.

It is also the order of the day to review our political relations. The policy of our government during nearly the first century of its existence was to confine its attention to domestic affairs and virtually to have no "foreign policy." The energy of the people was required for the upbuilding of the nation within its own walls. We have become the wealthiest nation in the world, we are a world power, with all the responsibilities which that position involves. Toward the republics of the south we stand in the relation of an elder brother. What a liberal proposition from a great power was the arbitration treaty formulated by Mr. Blaine and presented by him to the representatives of the Latin-American states to the International American Conference of 1889. It provided that all inter-American disputes should be settled by arbitration and virtually fixed existing territorial limits.

When the representatives of the southern republics went to the White House to bid farewell to President Harrison, he stated to them that the purpose of the military review which had been given in their honor on the previous day had been to give an idea of the army of the United States, not with the intention of impressing them with great military power, but to have them appreciate the fact that we were saving our men and money for industrial progress, that in case of need the country could rely, in the future as it had in the past, upon the courage and patriotism of its people. The wars of to-day are industrial wars. The commercial invasion of the Old World will mean the enforced abandonment of militancy in favor of industrialism; to the south of us it will mean a higher standard of living and a larger measure of well-being.

It is true we are building battleships, but as it takes years to build an armored vessel, the saying "In time of peace prepare for war" applies with peculiar force to the navy. The United States should become a great sea-power, not for the purpose of conquest, but to insure the peace of the continent.

The needle of the compass points to the north. The United States has blazed the way in working out the great problem of representative democratic government. The republics to the south of us have modeled their constitutions after ours. They have copied our school system and have sent here representative men to study our industrial methods and achievements. We are not only natural allies, but we are coincidentally gaining in power, commercially, financially,

politically, in a way that will make us both powerful and lasting friends. It is an incalculable blessing, that our policies, thoughts and aspirations are reciprocal. There are signs in the heavens; the Southern Cross, emblem of peace and good-will; the North Star, a sure guide.

Mr. Flint then introduced Mr. George W. Scott, of the University of Pennsylvania, who presented a paper on "Causes of Conflict Between the Countries of Europe and Latin America," which is to be found on pages 69-82 of this volume.

Mr. Scott's paper was followed by an address by Clifford Stevens Walton, Esq., of Washington, D. C., Licentiate in Civil Law, formerly counsel on the Chilean and Salvadorean Claims Commissions, on "Rules of Private and International Law in the Enforcement of Claims," which is printed on pages 83-96 of this volume.

A paper by Hon. Frederic Emory, of Washington, D. C., chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce of the Department of State, on "The Causes of Our Failure to Develop South American Trade," was then read by Mr. J. Russell Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, as Mr. Emory's illness prevented his attendance at the meeting. This paper appears on pages 151-156 of this volume.

Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, of Philadelphia, secretary of the Commercial Museum, then read a paper on "The Development of European Trade Relations with South America," which is printed on pages 157-168 of this volume.

Mr. Ernesto Nelson, of the Argentine Republic, then presented a paper on "Argentine Commerce with the United States and Europe," which is printed on pages 169-176 of this volume.

SESSION OF SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 18.

Topic: "The Community of Interests of the United States and Latin America."

The presiding officer of the evening was the Honorable Shelby M. Cullom, United States Senator from Illinois and chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The president of the Academy in introducing Senator Cullom said:

The twentieth century has been ushered in by an awakening of the American people to a sense of their responsibility as the leading

nation not only of the American continent, but of western civilization. The responsibilities involved in the position which we have assumed amongst the nations of the earth are such as would make a less buoyant nation shrink with terror. The faith in our own power to meet every new requirement, while a source of real strength, also involves definite dangers. Unless the leaders of our national life and especially those who are directing our foreign policy are men who can guide us through the mutual paths of international politics and who, in addition, possess a thorough grasp of the principles governing the development of our national life, we are sure to meet with disaster. But even these qualifications are insufficient unless they are combined with an understanding of the point of view of our people and a sympathy with their aspirations and ideals.

The extent to which the statesmen who have occupied the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have impressed their personality on the life of our people and upon the history of our country is to be measured by the degree in which they have met these requirements. Henry Clay, James Buchanan, Thomas Benton, Charles Sumner, John Sherman, C. K. Davis and S. M. Cullom stand out as exponents of all that is best in our national life. Of the long line of honored names there is certainly no one occupying a higher position than the gentleman who is to preside at this session. Both for the number of questions which he has been called upon to solve and the magnitude of their importance, the period of his chairmanship occupies a unique position in the history of the country. It has been his good fortune to preside over the most important committee of the Senate at a turning point in our history and it has been our good fortune as citizens of this great republic to enjoy the services and benefit by the leadership of the Honorable Shelby M. Cullom, whom I now have the honor of presenting to you.

Senator Cullom, in taking the chair, spoke as follows :

For the honor conferred upon me, by calling me to the chair on this interesting occasion, I thank you.

We meet here to discuss briefly the interests of North, Central and South America.

We are honored by the presence of able and distinguished representatives from the republics of Peru, of Cuba, of Costa Rica, and

from the International Bureau of American Republics, each one of whom will address you.

I do not need to say that addresses by such representatives from our sister republics cannot fail to be interesting, instructive and valuable to our country.

Fellow-citizens, in one capacity or another, we all belong to republican governments.

In the progress of time and events the nations of the earth have come into more intimate relations with each other. By the use of modern inventions, we have, in a large degree, conquered time and distance; and the result is, the nations are getting to know each other better, and differences are more easily and promptly adjusted.

It should be the purpose of statesmen of all the republics, North, Central and South, to favor such measures as will best secure the interests of all.

As a citizen and a Senator, I shall aid as best I can in securing a closer community of interests between the United States and all the other republics on this continent. Consistent with doing my whole duty by my own puissant nation and people, I shall favor a policy which I believe to be to the advantage of the other republics of the western world, so that all may secure permanent prosperity. As nations, we can often help ourselves by helping one another.

Our great secretary of state, in a brief address which he delivered a year or two ago at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, said that, "the ideal of the brotherhood of the nations of the western world was not a growth of yesterday; it was heralded, when the country was young, by the clarion voice of Henry Clay, and was cherished by Seward and Evarts, by Douglas and Blaine." And I am pleased to add, by the voice of the late lamented President McKinley, in his farewell address. In that noble address, he said, "but though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be."

Those words should ever be present in the minds of all our people. Our several republics should be one in sympathy, one in disposition to help each other, one in determination to make the three Americas great in the possession of the highest civilization, so that each may wield a grand influence for the good of mankind.

The movement for closer relations between the several republics will increase from year to year. It has often been said that trade

follows the flag. TRADE AND THE FLAG SHOULD GO TOGETHER, and in the interest of the United States and our sister republics, I am anxious to see American ships with the American flag floating over them, anchored in the ports of the south, laden with American products and manufactures, for the markets of those countries, and again laden with the products of those countries for the markets of the United States.

I hope to see the day very soon when the three Americas shall be bound together by lines of ships,—subsidized, if necessary,—and by railroads and telegraph lines, so that the people of all these nations, North, South and Central, can conveniently come and go and mingle and trade together, to the advantage of all.

It has been said that the decline of American shipping is not a lost art, but lost statesmanship. If it is the latter, let the people encourage the growth of statesmanship a little.

The first duty of government is to secure its independence and the freedom and protection of its citizens.

The government of the United States, years ago, gave expression to the doctrine that no foreign power should subjugate or interfere with the establishment of independent republics on the American continent. The Monroe doctrine is stronger in the minds and hearts of the American people now than ever before in our history.

Our gallant and wise President who is visiting the people of the far West and who is frank and open-hearted in talking to the people over whose destiny he presides, discusses all these great questions with clearness and frankness seldom heard in our previous history.

Fellow-citizens, the total territory of our republics, North, Central and South, including of course the United States and Cuba, amounts to between twelve and thirteen million square miles and contains a population of over one hundred and forty millions. The territory of these republics is capable of sustaining a population five times as great.

After more than fifty years of diplomatic correspondence and treaty-making with other powers, having in view an isthmian canal connecting the two great oceans, in Central America, the United States has at last taken a decisive step, by legislation and by treaty, which, if the republic of Colombia shall join the United States in ratifying, will result in the early construction of a canal, owned and

controlled by the United States, a work unequaled in magnitude and value.

When the treaty shall be ratified by Colombia, as I trust and believe it will, it will mark the beginning of a new era in the growth and prosperity of all those republics in Central and South America, and when the canal shall be completed it will not only be of vast advantage to all the nations of the western hemisphere, but also to the peoples of all the nations as a great neutral highway for commerce between the eastern and western hemispheres.

My fellow-citizens, I look forward with confidence to the time when it shall be apparent to all the nations on this continent that the work of the recent Congress, and of the Senate of the recent Congress, has been of vast benefit to the United States and to all our neighbor republics.

International conferences between the republics of the Americas are to be encouraged. These conferences, commenced under the administration of President Harrison, at the suggestion of his pre-eminent secretary of state, James G. Blaine, have done much to bring about a closer community of interests between the republics of this continent.

At the recent conference held in the city of Mexico, where each country was represented by able statesmen, a number of important treaties were signed, having for their object the promotion of friendly relations between our several republics. Conventions for the formation of codes on public and private international law, for the extradition of criminals, for the exchange of publications, regulating the practice of learned professions, regulating literary and artistic copyrights, and for the arbitration of pecuniary claims were agreed to.

It is to be regretted that urgent public business of the greatest consequence to the United States so engaged the attention of the last Congress as to prevent the consideration of those treaties. I hope that during the next session of the Senate they will be taken up and given that careful attention which their importance demands. Those treaties are right in principle. It remains only to be determined whether they are correct in detail.

I consider that the most momentous work of the Second International Conference of American States was the signing of the treaty of arbitration for pecuniary claims. While it would be

improper for me to discuss that arbitration treaty in public at this time, I do believe that its ratification will mark a new epoch in the intercourse between the signatory powers.

The time has come when international disputes should be settled by arbitration and not by war.

The conference in the interest of international arbitration called in 1898 at the suggestion of the greatest absolute monarch in the world, the Emperor of Russia, resulting in the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration at The Hague, has well shown that the enlightened nations of the world regard arbitration as the mode of settling international disputes. The convention at The Hague was one of the marked forward movements of the world in modern times.

The United States and the republic of Mexico were the first nations to take advantage of that international court of arbitration. The decision of that court, finally settling the so-called Pious Fund Dispute, cannot but be recognized as just and equitable to the interested powers.

The recent difficulties between Venezuela on the one part and certain European nations on the other, it is to be hoped, will be amicably settled by that peace tribunal.

Whatever may be said on the subject of arbitration for the determination of disputes between the nations of the world, it is especially desirable that arbitration, and not war, should be the means of disposing of controversies between the American republics.

The greater part of the history of every nation of the world is composed of recitals of victories and defeats on the field of battle, but, as the nations advance in arts, science and civilization, war will be the exception and arbitration the rule, for the disposition of international difficulties.

Senator Cullom then introduced Señor Don Manuel Alvarez Calderon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru, who read a paper on "The Position of Peru in South-American Affairs." This paper is printed on pages 57-65 of this volume.

Senator Cullom then presented Señor Don N. Veloz-Goiticoa, secretary of the International Bureau of the American Republics, who delivered an address on "The Position of Venezuela in American Affairs." He spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The position of Venezuela in American affairs is a topic which admits of ample development, but as there is not sufficient time available this evening, I shall limit my endeavors to establish such a position from but a few points of view. In so doing, on considering things past,—during the different periods of political and social evolution, from the ethnogenic to the demogenic stages, from ancient times to the discovery of America and thence to the present day,—we must admit that humanity has undergone a radical change and civilization attained a high degree of widespread development.

The struggle for and acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of America and the severe contest for and final emancipation of the Spanish-American colonies, brought about by well-known conditions and made renowned by the heroic deeds of such great American commanders as Washington, Bolivar, Hidalgo, Morazán and San Martín, form epochs in the annals of history.

Bolivar, born in Caracas, liberated Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, and founded Bolivia, which is named in his honor.

Venezuela began her independent life as a nation ninety-two years ago, by making a glorious and indelible impress upon the pages of American history, for she is the birthplace both of Bolivar and of South-American independence, and Bolivar is the Washington of South America.

Viewing the position of Venezuela from another standpoint, we are confronted with the fact that the western hemisphere covers an area of 15,800,000 square miles and has a population of 148,745,000 inhabitants,—using round numbers for the sake of convenience, as the exact figures can easily be verified from official publications,—and that the nineteen Latin-American republics, taken as a social nucleus, possess 53 per cent of the total area of our hemisphere; British North America and colonies, 24 per cent; the United States of America, 22 per cent, and other European colonies but 1 per cent.

As a congregate grouping the United States represents 54 per cent of the whole population of the New World; Latin America, 41 per cent, and British, Dutch, French and Danish possessions, 5 per cent. In this demotic aggroupment, 59 per cent speak the Anglo-Saxon languages and 41 per cent those of Latin origin; therefore, the Latin genetic contingent in America holds more than half of the

total area of the western hemisphere and both as to population and language represents over two-fifths of the whole unit.

These general facts being established, let us further take into consideration that Venezuela belongs to the Latin-American genetic group and that she occupies in it the fifth place with respect to area, which, as an illustration, means four times the territory of Central America, or, in the United States, more than the combined areas of the eight great states of Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Arkansas, although her density of population is scarcely five to the square mile.

From the fundamental sociological standpoint of utilization and especially from that of objective values and their relation to production, Venezuela occupies a distinguished position, for she possesses three distinct and most powerful elements; namely: the agricultural, the pastoral and the forest zones. The first comprises high mountains and deep valleys from the Caribbean Sea—into which empty two hundred and thirty of her rivers, and on which Venezuela has a coast line of more than two thousand miles with thirty-two natural harbors and fifty bays—to the interior which yields all the products of the intertropical and temperate zones, coffee and cocoa being the principal export products.

The pastoral zone consists of immense plains interspersed with table lands and watered by more than one thousand rivers many of which are navigable; luxuriant and plentiful pasture being available for twenty times the several million head of live stock now extant, and due to which European capitalists have, of late, been paying close attention to the possibilities of the cattle industry in Venezuela in view of establishing large plants on similar lines to the kindred industries in the United States.

The forest zone is vast in extent and consists comparatively of some not thoroughly explored and much unexploited land, abounding in inexhaustible quantity of natural products such as rubber, tonka-beans, untold varieties of precious woods and timber, etc. In the upper Orinoco region, for instance, there are boundless forests, and in one of them which measures upwards of seventy-four million acres there exists caoutchouc in such an abundance that it would require millions of hands to exploit it. Fifty thousand immigrants, to begin with, would find there profitable employment. Venezuela offers here a rich field to enterprise, for, with the rudimentary method

now employed nearly half a million pounds of crude rubber were exported last year from the Orinoco region, and as many million rubber trees are available, there may be a possible yearly output of thirty million pounds of crude rubber from this region in the near future, according to scientific research.

In mineral resources there is scarcely a product known that cannot be found in some part of the vast expanse of territory of Venezuela. This does not imply that all can be and are now found in paying quantities, but gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, etc., are and could be mined with more profit under improved conditions of traffic and transportation and would add considerably to the wealth of the world in general and of Venezuela in particular.

A number of American citizens are making a careful scientific investigation of the vast natural resources of Venezuela. Already there are some important American enterprises, such as the asphalt properties and iron mines in which a certain amount of American capital is invested, but there is not any United States dry-goods establishment either wholesale or retail in Venezuela.

A reliable authority recommends to American manufacturers and exporters, as of the highest importance in seeking good markets for their products in Latin-American countries, to take a broad view of international commerce and not to lose sight of the fact that the more Americans who establish there the greater will be the demand for home products and that the United States will receive in return the most highly priced natural products. These recommendations rest on the well-known political economical principle, that international commerce is founded on barter and on the international division of labor.

During the decade of 1889 to 1898 the value of the principal imports of the United States from American countries, adopting round figures for brevity's sake, amounted to over one thousand seven hundred and fifty million dollars and the exports thereto to six hundred and fifty million, which demonstrate the dependency of the United States on tropical and sub-tropical products; although the latest statistics show some improvement in this respect. From this standpoint Venezuela commands the third place as an exporting American country to the United States with eighty-two million dollars' worth of commodities, of which seventy-one millions were represented by coffee, and as an importer of goods from the United

States the fourth place with thirty-two and a half million dollars, of which twenty-two million consisted of breadstuffs, cotton manufactures and provisions, the present yearly status in this regard being \$3,270,000 worth of imports from the United States and \$6,640,000 sent in return, which means that Venezuela exports to the United States double the value of the goods received from it.

From the financial point of view Venezuela compares favorably in American affairs. The annual revenue is about eight million dollars (1901), derived principally from customs duties. Her monetary system is now and has always been based absolutely upon the gold standard, the monetary unit being the *bolivar* which is exactly one franc in value. The banking laws prescribe that three-fourths of the capital be paid up and that banknotes may be issued *only* for twice the amount of capital fully paid, consequently there does not exist any fiduciary or other currency that is depreciated, the circulating mediums being gold to the amount of eight dollars per unit of population, national silver *at par value* to that of one and one-fourth dollars, no foreign silver currency being legal tender, and banknotes to that of sixty-five cents, the total per capita being nearly ten dollars. The fluctuations of the rate of exchange are a couple of points below or above par, which is exceptional if compared with the rate of exchange of any Latin-American country.

According to the report of the Council of Foreign Bond Holders of London (1902) the total liabilities of Venezuela are forty-seven million dollars, and it is gathered therefrom that the outstanding capital and arrears of loan service of the external and internal debts which Venezuela owes to foreign holders amount to 62 per cent of the total liabilities or to about twenty-nine million dollars.

A good authority affirms that the marvelous growth in the foreign commerce of the United States began some thirty years ago with the increase of means of transportation in all directions, thus developing the great agricultural and industrial centres, creating power to produce and gather the natural products for manufacture and transportation to the sea coast, infusing new life and wonderful activity to the United States, and making it the great producing, manufacturing and exporting nation of the world.

The superior facilities of communication of the United States, its financial strength, the shrewd strenuousness of the present ethnical type, resulting from the heterogeneous social elements, called

the American citizen, with his marvelous energy, form the solid foundation on which rests the foreign trade of the United States, and are important factors which assure the position it has attained and guarantee a future of ever-increasing expansion of its foreign commerce.

The United States has fully entered upon the third stage of progress, as classified by philosophical historians and the investigation to be begun within a couple of months by the American Institute of Social Science regarding the industrial and social conditions abroad for application in the United States will still advance it on the broad path of civilization.

Although Venezuela is the Latin-American country which lies nearest to the United States and European markets, she has not yet been able to reach such an advanced stage of industrial evolution as might be desired, due, above all, to lack of immigration, the influence of which is so obvious and wide-reaching; therefore, I am ready to vouch for the immediate need of a large, steady and methodical influx of all nationalities, but it is essential that they be well-meaning individuals, industrious and willing to establish what, according to historical studies of social science, is termed *secondary congregation*, adding thus to the development and well-being of the country, for which Venezuela is magnificently endowed by nature.

However, mere schemers, promoters and speculators, with no thoroughly respectable financial support, embarking in adventurous enterprise and reckless speculation, with enormous profits in view, although fully aware of the risks which they may incur, are *highly latent forces of dissociation which at any moment may become deplorably active*, as giving rise to claims for indemnity and methods of collecting them which probably would not be resorted to against opponents of the same military strength or standing, and which can lead to a very dangerous state of involution in American affairs, and it is a well-known fact that what all the nations of the western world want, is PEACE, to attain, as speedily as possible, the highest degree of progress and prosperity.

Before concluding I desire, Mr. President, to thank, through you, the American Academy of Political and Social Science of Philadelphia, for having afforded me this opportunity of discussing a few phases regarding my native country, and I feel especially gratified because this has taken place at a meeting presided over by the

distinguished and world-renowned chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the United States Senate.

General James H. Wilson, formerly military governor of Matanzas in Cuba, was present at this session as a guest and consented to make a short address on the importance of reciprocity between Cuba and the United States as well as between the United States and all the other countries of South America.

Respectfully submitted,

L. S. ROWE, *Chairman.*

GEORGE F. BAER,
GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.,
FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND,
JOHN H. CONVERSE,
W. W. FRAZIER,
JOSEPH M. GAZZAM,
FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS,
EDMUND J. JAMES,
EMORY R. JOHNSON,

VICTOR F. LAWSON,
J. B. LIPPINCOTT,
THEODORE MARBURG,
EDWARD S. MEADE,
GEORGE W. OCHS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
SIMON N. PATTEN,
STUART WOOD,
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,

Special Committee on the Seventh Annual Meeting.

Book Department

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES.

THE "MUNICIPAL YEAR-BOOK FOR 1902" combines a directory of municipal officials and franchise companies, an exhibit of municipal and private ownership, and an outline of the leading public works and services in each of the 1,524 largest municipalities of the country. It includes all incorporated places of 3,000 and upwards by the census of 1900, and, in addition, all New England "towns" of like size.

The facts of most vital interest under each municipality are summarized and commented upon in the introduction, which includes a detailed review of the present status of such important facilities as water and sewage purification, improved means of garbage disposal, public baths, underground wires and central heating stations, and of municipal and private ownership.

In the body of the book there are given for each city and town its population by the census of 1900, its assessed valuation of 1901, its principal officials, and what is owned by the municipality and by private companies, respectively, with the names of the latter. Water supply, sewerage, water pollution, street cleaning, street sprinkling, garbage collection and disposal, the fire department, and finally the location of electric wires, whether overhead or underground, receive attention in the order named. Whether the street cleaning and sprinkling are done by day-labor or by the contract system, and whether the cost of each service is met by the city or by the owners of the property benefited, are also given.

"LEGAL TENDER: A STUDY IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MONETARY HISTORY,"¹ by S. P. Breckenridge, is an account of the debasement of English coins and of fluctuations in the value of the legal tender credit moneys of Great Britain and the United States. The work is not, as its title might suggest, a study of the various legal tender acts and of the political and economic conditions which called them forth. As a study of debasement and depreciation, however, it has high merit; it gives a detailed statement of the history of those acts and fluctuations. While the interest is a narrow one, it brings together the conclusions of the mass of monograph literature, as well as the facts to be drawn from original sources, and makes them available to the ordinary reader.

AT MANY EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES for a number of years past, at least one session has been devoted to a discussion of the question of college

¹"The Municipal Year-Book, 1902." Edited by M. N. Baker. Pp. 364. Price, \$3.00. New York: Engineering News Publishing Co.

²Decennial Publications. Pp. xvii, 181. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: University Press, 1903.

entrance requirements.* Numerous papers have been presented by school and college men from their respective points of view, and the result of all this discussion has been to draw closer together the preparatory schools and the institutions for which they prepare. The colleges no longer arbitrarily demand a certain form of preparation without having first consulted with the schools.

At the meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, held in Baltimore, during the Thanksgiving recess in 1902 and at the meeting of the Association of American Universities held at Columbia University during the Christmas recess in 1902, the respective merits of the examination and certificate methods of admission to college were presented. No such thorough discussion of the subject has, however, been attempted before as that which has just been published by Dr. Edwin Cornelius Broome.

Dr. Broome has presented in an interesting manner the historical development of college admission requirements in America from the Harvard requirements of 1642 to the present day. He has presented also a discussion of the present phases of the problem as exhibited in the requirements for admission of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, the University of Michigan and Cornell. There is also a discussion of the question of college entrance requirements from the point of view of the secondary school. An interesting bibliography of the subject is appended.

Opinions differ so widely as to the proper solution of the problems of transition from school to college that Dr. Broome has very wisely confined himself to a statement of the historical facts and existing conditions rather than to theorizing concerning what he thinks ought to be.

A fact which is commonly disregarded by those who talk and write of college entrance requirements is that the college of to-day is in many respects a totally different institution from the college of even twenty-five or thirty years ago. The enlargement of the curriculum of public high schools and other preparatory institutions and the advance in the amount of work required for admission to college has resulted in making the school do a large portion of what was formerly regarded as college work, and the college do a large portion through its elective system of what was formerly regarded as university work. These facts are brought out in a striking manner in the historical review of the subject by Dr. Broome, who has done a genuine service in getting together for the first time such a valuable mass of information on the subject.⁴

MR. HERBERT N. CASSON'S little book on "Organized Self-Help"⁵ is an eloquent defence of the American Federation of Labor. The author remarks that this organization, which had 1,100,000 members on its rolls in November, 1901, is increasing at the rate of 350,000 members a year.

* "A Historical and Critical Discussion of College Admission Requirements." By Edwin Cornelius Broome, Ph. D., Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology and Education. Vol. xi., Nos. 3-4. Pp. 159. Price, \$1.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

⁴ Contributed by J. H. Penniman, Dean, College Department, University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Pp. 211. Price, 75 cents. New York: Peter Eckley.

The author states that his book is designed to explain the worker's side of industrial problems and to describe the American labor movement as a whole. He maintains that organization is absolutely necessary to the progress of the working classes. Take away the trades union and you rob the average workman of the only chance he has of bettering his condition, having nothing to sell but his labor, and no means of getting a higher price for it except through the union. Organization, moreover, is the only expedient by which the worker can retain any individual rights whatever.

Written from the laborer's point of view, the book is, of course, pessimistic with regard to existing industrial conditions. Many of the facts which the author cites, appear, however, to be well authenticated. The essential theses which the author seeks to establish are indicated by the chapters of his book: The Trade Union as a Legitimate Business Institution. The Trade Union Prevents Lawlessness and Revolution. The Trade Union is the Distributor of Prosperity. Trades Unions as the Pioneers of Social Reform. Trades Unions Promote Education and Morality.

The book is interesting reading, written in a somewhat passionate style, and especially to be recommended to hidebound optimists.

THE FRENCH ARE MORE FACILE than the English-speaking people, in giving a lively interest and a literary flavor to matters scientific, thereby permitting a wide circle of readers to participate in the progress of science in its various fields. A late example of this⁶ takes as its theme the crust of the earth, its waters and minerals, and its caverns, natural and artificial. Our attention in the presentation of this vast subject is gained and held, by the strictly human interest in processes of mining and working, and the social institutions of the workers. Coal and other carbons receive the lion's share of attention, nearly one-half the book being devoted to this topic. And this is all the more interesting to us, because of the fulness of the author's treatment of French mines and miners. His attention is drawn to the inevitable exhaustion of the world's coal supply, and he looks hopefully to the extended use of water power, "white coal," as M. Bergé has called it, to take the place of the carbons in the world's industry of the future.⁷

"THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1849," by Charles W. Dahlinger,⁸ is an interesting and carefully written account of the final struggle in Baden for the maintenance of Germany's first national parliament. The general title is therefore at first glance somewhat misleading. The movement treated is really provincial, although growing out of and intimately associated with the widely spread political ferment attendant upon the German revolutions of 1848 and the meeting of her first representative parliament at Frankfort.

⁶ "*Les Entrailles de la Terre.*" By E. Caustier. Pp. 401: Ill. 400: 4 plates. Paris: Nony et Cie., 1902.

⁷ Contributed by J. Paul Goode, University of Pennsylvania.

⁸ Pp. 287. Price, \$1.35. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, . 1903.

But the story is none the less interesting because of its local setting. Indeed the very fact that it is so circumscribed seems to add intensity and character to this "final death struggle of the movement."

A feature of the book of especial value to the American reader is the account of the participation in the movement by many whose names are now well known in the history of this country. Conspicuous among these are Frederick Hecker, Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, Lorenz Brentano and Ludwig Blenker.

Chapter VIII. gives an instructive account of the decline and final dispersal of the German national parliament of 1848 with not a few of its acts, showing how completely that body was lacking in practical statesmanship. It represented the theorists and academicians and judging from its acts, the contemporary cartoonists were not far astray, when they caricatured the parliament as three aged professors in dressing jackets, smoking their pipes, all three blindfolded, but nevertheless engaged in drawing up the constitution for the fatherland. Little wonder that the Iron Chancellor should again and again declare the futility of attempting to solve the hopeless muddle of Germany's political conditions by fine phrases and constitution-making.

Mr. Dahlinger has avoided footnotes but has given instead a list of sources and secondary works at the end, some of which are excellent, though the general character of the bibliography bears out the author's statement in the preface that the book does not pretend to be exhaustive or based on original research. The volume has a good working index.*

FORTY YEARS AFTER THE great national struggle for the preservation of the Union, which fired the passions and distorted the reason of every person of thinking age within the confines of the United States, Andrew Johnson has an historian to do him justice. With the mist of sectional feeling scattered the commanding figure of the only President who has suffered impeachment is made to stand out as a tower of strength. As a staunch advocate of national integrity, he came first into prominence in the hotbed of secession; as a defender of that faith that knew not the narrow bounds of sectionalism, he had denounced his peers in the Senate for treason to the Union. It was this stand of the slave-holding, lifelong Southern Democrat that made Andrew Johnson Vice-President, though dubbed the "alien" by such ultra-partisans as Stevens and Sumner. In the "Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson,"¹⁰ Mr. Dewitt has introduced his subject as a strong chief executive, seeking to carry out a policy of reconstruction that had been inaugurated by Abraham Lincoln and which had already gone before the people on a party issue in 1864. In this campaign the people had stood behind Lincoln and his announced policy as against ultra-republicanism. His chief crime was that of following the platform of the party of his election; but the vigor of the chief executive and the sectional bitterness of the time, together with the blind foolishness of northern advocates of negro suffrage, were the chief

*Contributed by William E. Lingelbach.

¹⁰ By David Miller Dewitt. Pp. viii, 646. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1903.

elements in the controversy. The cause espoused by the President was one that even a Lincoln might have hesitated to champion after the war had ended. Johnson's small hold on the people, as shown by his "swing around the circle," was his undoing. The author shows, however, that the defeated Johnson was as staunch and true to duty as he had been in the victory that made him the popular hero. When laws were passed over his head he executed them with such faith that even his enemies could find no fault. He never lost occasion, however, to show his disapproval of the policy undertaken. Though his career was a stormy one throughout, and in his later days he was discredited, we have no firmer advocate of faith to public trust or of official vigor in the execution of established law.

"RECENT EUROPEAN HISTORY" (1789-1900)," by George Emory Fellows, Ph. D., LL. D., is a useful text-book for a short course on the history of the nineteenth century, though adapted for advanced work in the high schools rather than for the college. The different phases of the progress since 1789 are set forth with a clearness and perspicacity of style that make even the necessarily brief treatment of the separate events interesting reading. The book will be welcomed by teachers of history as an admirable outline text-book for their classes.

"AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE ORIENT,"¹¹ when taken in connection with the author's "A Century of American Diplomacy," constitutes the first systematic attempt to present to the student of American politics a clear and concise discussion of questions of foreign policy arising out of our position on this continent and our relations with the countries of the far East. The experience and training which Mr. Foster brings to the work give him a unique position amongst the writers on American foreign relations. For the last thirty years he has been in close touch with the actual practice of our government in the conduct of foreign relations and for a time directed our national policy. With this practical experience the author combines a breadth of historical view which adds greatly to the value of his discussions. The development of our relations with China and Japan, which constitutes the most important chapters of the books, is described with a detail combined with a sense of proportion as to the important and unimportant factors involved in the situation which makes the volume indispensable to every student of our Eastern relations. The Samoan complications and the annexation of Hawaii receive careful attention in separate chapters. Probably the least satisfactory part of the work is the concluding chapter on the Spanish war and its results. In the discussion of this question the author does not show the same broad grasp of the forces at work as in other chapters, but it must be kept in mind that the subject is too large to permit of treatment in a single chapter. The work of Mr. Foster is an honor to American

¹¹ Pp. vi, 450. Price, \$1.25. Boston: B. H. Sanborn & Co., 1902.

¹² By John W. Foster. Pp. xvi, 498. Price, \$3.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903.

scholarship and an indication of what we may expect when full use has been made of the mass of material stored in the archives of the Department of State and other executive offices.¹³

"NAPOLEON AND HIS MARSHALS," by J. T. Headley,¹⁴ is the most recent addition to Burt's Home Library. The book furnishes in a convenient form this deservedly popular work on Napoleon and the distinguished marshals to whom so much of his military success must be attributed.

"THE OLD GLADE (FORBES') ROAD"¹⁵ is the fifth of Mr. Hulbert's series of Historic Highways of America. The two volumes preceding, viz: "Washington's Road" and "Braddocks Road," were in fact two essays on the French and Indian war, the incidents of which centre in these lines of travel. The present volume brings together much data associated with the Pennsylvania defence. The preceding volumes represent the chief military activity at the beginning of the struggle against the French and their barbarian allies. The Old Glade Road becomes important as a line of military defences and military movement to the west, ending with the battle of Bushy Run, the last important engagement of the French and Indian War in the western territory. As a further incident associated with this main highway to the Ohio, the book closes with an account of its part in Pontiac's war, beginning in 1763, the last concerted stand of the Indian against Anglo-Saxon invasion of his ancient rights.

THAT SUCCESSFUL PHILANTHROPY should be constructive and preventive rather than critical and remedial is the distinguishing belief of the new generation of social workers. That the literature of philanthropy should emphasize the preventive and constructive features, holding these constantly before the general public as well as before social workers themselves, is quite as important. Joseph Lee's book, "Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy,"¹⁶ teems with illustrations of successful constructive work. In grouping together as part of one general program so many activities the author has rendered great service not only to the organizer of social work whose failures are often due to limited conceptions of the field and its needs, but also to the official, the taxpayer and the philanthropist. In the past the question has too often been asked: "To what social work shall I give my contribution?" Through the influence of such writings the philanthropist may be persuaded to ask, "How shall I distribute my contributions among the

¹³ Contributed by Leo S. Rowe.

¹⁴ Pp. viii, 551. Price, \$2.00. New York: A. L. Burt, 1902. (Complete in one volume.)

¹⁵ "The Old Glade (Forbes') Road"—Pennsylvania State Road. Volume V, Historic Highways of America. By Archer Butler Hulbert. Pp. 205. Price, \$2.50. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co., 1903.

¹⁶ "Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy." By Joseph Lee, with an Introduction by Jacob A. Riis. Pp. x, 242. Price, \$1.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1902.

various agencies for improving the condition of the poor in my own city?" The chapter headings give a notion of the scope of the book: Savings and Loans, The Home, Health and Building Laws, Model Tenements, The Setting of the Home, Vacation Schools, Playgrounds for Small Children, Baths and Gymnasiums, Playgrounds for Big Boys, Model Playgrounds, Outings, Boys' Clubs, Industrial Training For Grown People.¹⁷

MATHEWS' "OHIO AND HER WESTERN RESERVE"¹⁸ is the third of Appleton's Expansion of the Republic Series. It is a well-written and reliable account of the movement not only of Connecticut's people, but also of her principles and political doctrines across the continent. In the first portion of the book the author points out what Connecticut doctrine stands for. A second portion is given to the settlement in northern Pennsylvania under the grants to the Susquehanna Company by the Connecticut state government under the charter received from the crown, by which Connecticut's claim overlapped that of the Pennsylvania patents. This conflict of authority, beginning with the arrest of the first few settlers, leading to the Pennamite wars, and subsequently to the Wyoming massacre, furnishes one of the most interesting episodes in American history. The author has truly portrayed the struggles there and the final settlement of the quarrel, by which Connecticut was given the lands in northern Ohio as a sort of compensation for the territory of which she was deprived in Pennsylvania. The third part of the book takes up the Western Reserve, its development and its place in American history. In this treatment special reference is made to the influence of Puritanism and the popular institutions first planted in Connecticut and later carried with the people to the West.

"THE AARON BURR CONSPIRACY," by Walter Flavius McCaleb, Ph. D.,¹⁹ is a new version of an old theme—one that a century ago shook the foundations of American political organization and was the topic of current comment in the courts of Europe—a theme that until within comparatively recent years could not receive adequate historical treatment on account of inaccessibility of material. The plot begins before Burr leaves the office of Vice-President. It is laid at a time when antipathy between the New England seaboard towns and the interior, west and south, was so strong as to call forth overt acts as well as threats of disunion. This antipathy finds formal expression in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and later in the Hartford convention. Another element of unrest was the strong hostility toward Spain and the fever of land speculation, which expressed itself in a wave of national expansion. A third disturbing element is found in the political chaos abroad. Dr. McCaleb's thesis is that Burr, thrown out of political leadership in the East, sought to draw enough of financial and military sup-

¹⁷ Contributed by William H. Allen, New York City.

¹⁸ By Alfred Mathews. Pp. xxiii, 330. Price, \$1.25. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1902.

¹⁹ Pp. xix, 377. Price, \$2.50. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1903.

port from abroad to carry to success a revolution which, with the support of the population of the West, would end in wresting from Spain her North-American possessions and breaking her colonial power. What is known as the "Burr Conspiracy" is treated as a product of the time, a general movement in which a large number of public men were interested. "The idea of penetrating neighboring territories by making conquests of them was in the air of the time and not due in the remotest sense to the influence of Burr. He strove merely for its embodiment. Though he failed, history emphatically says that his plans were opportune and their wreck was due to influences he had failed to properly estimate, and chiefly to the conduct of James Wilkinson." The duplicity which led to Burr being regarded as a traitor in the West was found in his tactics to obtain aid from abroad. The changed political conditions reversed the forces, shifted public sentiment, and Burr, unmindful of these altered conditions, was caught in the toils. In the development of his thesis Dr. McCaleb has drawn from sources—Mexican, Spanish and English—heretofore unknown and unused. He also has reproduced the original maps of Burr, which are in themselves a contribution.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE WORK OF WALL STREET"²⁰ has perhaps been unfortunate in that he follows a long line of similar studies in part scientific and in part issued by brokerage houses and bankers which have familiarized the public with a large part of the field treated. He has, however, made a marked improvement over anything which has previously appeared and in some places has described institutions and methods about which little was generally known. Starting with a brief history of Wall street, the author gives a general view of the financial district and a general description of the stock market. He next explains the influences which affect prices over long and short periods. A short description of the stock company follows. Approaching the principal portion of his work, the author now explains the manner in which securities are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, the organization and methods of that body, the operation of the Stock Exchange, the Clearing House, the work of the broker and the operations of the money market. Following these are chapters on the Bank Statement, the Sub-Treasury and Assay Office, on Foreign Exchange and the Balance of Trade, Private Bankers and Underwriters of Syndicates, on Panics, Manipulation, the State of Trade in Reference to Security Values, and a final chapter on The Pests of Wall Street. These concluding chapters are perhaps less satisfactory than those which precede them. The field covered is too broad for more than a discursive treatment. If any criticism were offered it would bear upon this portion of the book. The discussion of the work of Wall street proper, viz: Chapters VI to XV, is entitled to high praise. The author writes from an intimate knowledge of his subject and his treatment abounds in illustrative matter of a kind not hitherto presented. The descriptions of the Stock Exchange, Clearing House and the money market are particularly valuable. This part of the volume is a thor-

²⁰ By Sereno S. Pratt. Pp. xviii, 286. Price, \$1.25. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

oughly scientific description of the methods of dealing in securities. "The Work of Wall Street" will take a permanent place in the literature of scientific economics.²¹

FOR THOSE STUDENTS of political problems who are convinced that the machinery of democratic institutions is even more important than any general theories of popular participation in government, "*L'Electorat politique et administratif en Europe*"²² will be a valuable contribution to the literature of politics. The right to vote seems to be a very simple matter, perfectly plain and comprehensible in all its features. Yet the electoral systems of no two countries are alike, nor is there any tendency toward making them simpler or more uniform. The present volume is in no sense theoretical. The author has sought simply to give an objective, reliable account of the status of electoral privileges in all the countries of Europe. He has not confined himself to the legislative electorate, but also taken up the subject of the extent and nature of popular rights with regard to the choice of administrative officials. He has, moreover, very properly extended the scope of his investigations so as to include the law of municipal elections.

In most works on politics the right to vote in local elections has not been discussed. This is perhaps due to the fact that less attention is given to local legislation and administration than to national politics. But in view of the fact that local legislative assemblies are much more numerous than national legislatures, and that, within their more narrowly circumscribed geographical scope, municipal affairs are of much more intimate concern to the average citizen than national politics, there seems to be no reason for neglecting the subject of the municipal suffrage which throughout Europe is by no means parallel with the right to vote at national elections.

In Holland and Germany, for instance, less persons have the right to vote for local administrative officials than for national representatives. Elsewhere, the reverse is true.²³

"THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY,"²⁴ by M. M. Shoemaker, is, in the author's own words, "a mere book of travel," and as such should not, he says, deal with political or national questions. It is the day by day journal of a journey from St. Petersburg to Peking, including some account of both of these cities. Incidents of travel and sights by the wayside and bits of history are related in an interesting though in a necessarily unconnected manner. There is quite a long account of Lake Baikal, and Manchuria is more fully dealt with than any other section of the route. This part of the book reads much like a gazetteer—probably like the official "Guide to the Great Siberian Railway," from which the author states "all of my facts and figures have been

²¹ Contributed by E. S. Meade.

²² *Etude de législation comparée*. By Oscar Pyfferoen. Pp. 365. Price, 3 fr. 50. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1903.

²³ Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Bates College, Lewiston, Me.

²⁴ Pp. viii, 243. Price, \$2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

taken." He gives a good account of the climate of Manchuria. In his only diversion to international politics he expresses the hope that Russia will continue to hold that province, and gives as his reason that "under her rule all men may live in peace and security. The result of her rule in Manchuria is already marked."

"THE AMERICAN FARMER"²⁸ is a brief study of the history and present position of the farmer in American economic life. While the book is argumentative, endeavoring to show that the interests of the farmer are the same as those of the wage-earner, and that he should therefore join the socialist party, it is, nevertheless, a convenient compendium of American agricultural development, a subject which has received meagre treatment by economists. The author recognizes the limitations of such a brief study, but he hopes to suggest monographs on special phases of the subject.

Until the recent growth of the socialist party in Italy and other European rural districts, it has been customary to believe that socialistic theories can receive but slight support from the farmer because of the individualistic character of his existence. Mr. Simons in treating of America shows that certain conditions of American life have robbed the farmer of his position as a capitalist and have placed him in the class of exploited wage-earners. These conditions are: (1) the dependence of the country upon the city through the emigrations which leave behind the "unfit"; the gravitation of surplus wealth to the cities through railroad tariffs, interests, commissions and profits; and the removal of industries from the farm, making the farmer dependent upon factory products; (2) the change in methods of farming, which reduces the farmer to a specialist working in a narrow field; this increases the complexity of farm work, requiring an expensive and elaborate equipment and special training, and makes the farmer dependent upon the market fluctuations; a new element of chance is thus introduced into his existence, society gaining the "advantages of having its food produced with less effort, the producer, however, reaping no advantage"; (3) the fact that as a result of transportation facilities the farmer has become a part of the competitive system, although the farmer himself fails to recognize this fact and welcomes the increase of farms, which can only result in reducing all to a lower level of profits; (4) the concentration of industry, which in agriculture has the effect of reducing the importance of land in relation to machinery, labor and product, which, therefore, makes the question of the decrease or increase of the size of farms a matter of less moment, but the control of the industry by a few people the all-important consideration; in other words, all forms of industry—butter and cheese making, the meat industry, even transportation, are modifications or outgrowths of farming and necessary to it; the concentration of iron, coal and transportation—the vital essentials of economic life—affecting the farmer in the same way as other industries. Mortgages have placed the farmer in the class "who use but do not own." He, too, is exploited, and he receives

²⁸ By A. M. Simons. (Standard Socialist Series.) Pp. 208. Price, 50 cents. Chicago Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1903.

a reward merely for his labor. The political union of the farmer and wage-earner is accordingly urged.

A GREAT VARIETY OF SUBJECTS are treated from the standpoint of an Italian radical in "*Il Secolo XIX*," a political and social study by Pasquale Turiello.²⁶ The author analyzes the characteristic changes of tendency that have taken place during the nineteenth century, and endeavors to summarize its principal achievements in the domain of economic and social progress. The book, however, is by no means unqualifiedly eulogistic. The writer points out the unfortunate consequences of commercial and military conflicts, and what he calls the decadence of parliamentarianism. To the American reader the conclusion that parliamentarianism is necessarily a failure is somewhat hasty. Nations cannot be expected to accustom themselves to the judicious exercise of popular rights in three or four decades. Parliamentary government is a lesson that requires time to learn.

The book is interesting principally to persons familiar with the political history of modern Italy.

MISS ANNE HOLLINGSWORTH WHARTON'S "Social Life in the Early Republic"²⁷ is a delightful supplement to the political history and formal biographies of the first days after the Revolution. While it is replete with personal incidents and takes its bearing from the festal side of American life, the writer is so thoroughly in touch with the leading events of the time that the narrative is almost insensibly intertwined with the more substantial structures. The work shows a remarkable grasp of existing personal relations, the expression of which takes form in the cotillion and reception, in country-house party and fox hunt; but with this underglow of social customs and hospitality may be seen the working of motives which give point and prominence to political events. One of the most important features historically treated is an exposé of the transition from predominant upper-class English formalism to the greater simplicity of triumphant Jeffersonian democracy without the loss of culture, virtue and strength, when viewed from the ideals of the century then just begun. The beauty of description is enhanced by profuse illustration. In portraiture some of the best American art is represented.

A companion piece to Miss Wharton's work is found in Miss Esther Singleton's "Social New York Under the Georges."²⁸ This is not in any sense a duplication of subject. Miss Singleton's pen pictures are of social trappings, housings and furnishings; the luxury of social New York rather than social relations or social activity of old Manhattan, is her theme. In this she has been at much pains to give by story, description and by half-tone

²⁶ Pasquale Turiello, "*Il Secolo XIX*." Studio politico sociale. Pp. 187. Price, 2 lire. Milano: Remo Sandron, 1902.

²⁷ Pp. 346. Price, \$3.00. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1902.

²⁸ Pp. xix, 407. Price, \$5.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1902.

representation the houses, beds, chairs, settees, dishes and draperies of our well-to-do New York ancestors before the Revolution. No doubt is left as to the splendor in which our colonial forbears lived, where opportunity was given to avail themselves of the best that Europe and America could afford.

REVIEWS

Financial History of the United States. By DAVIS RICH DEWEY, PH. D., Professor of Economics and Statistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Pp. xxxvi and 530. Price, \$2.00. New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

For a long time the need of a financial history of the United States, presenting the most important facts within a moderate space, has been felt. The wonder is that no one has essayed the task before, as the materials for the larger portion of the field were ample and accessible. Dr. Dewey has clearly comprehended the kind of book needed, and has been highly successful in producing it.

The author begins with a definition of his field. Departing from the academic definition, a broader scope is given to the term, whereby "some consideration of the monetary system of the country, such as coinage and bank issues," is included. "This extension," as the author remarks, "is made partly for convenience, since the two subjects of money and of finance in its narrowest interpretation are related in interest to the student of public affairs; and partly because it is impossible to explain the policy of the government of the United States either as to expenditures or to income, without reference to the development of public opinion and experience in the management of its monetary operations."

Of the five hundred pages composing the volume, about seventy-five are devoted to colonial finance; nearly two hundred more to the finances prior to the civil war, and the remainder of the volume to the subsequent period. Preliminary discussion is founded on colonial experience. "In the early days," says Dr. Dewey, "the support of the governor was probably the most burdensome single charge placed upon a colony. The salaries of the few executive assistants or heads of departments were small, and in many instances the governor and inferior officers were paid by fees, thus lessening the need of regular taxation." The legislative expenditures were small, for the sessions were short and the members, if paid at all, received but little. Though the administration of justice was not neglected, it was not costly, there was no local navy, and the expense of the locally organized militia was assessed on the individual members, or on the town or county. Something was spent for court-houses and a few other public buildings, and for bridges and highways. That huge item of modern public expenditure, charitable relief, was unknown or confined to the "local units of administration." The only heavy demand on the colonial treasuries was to sustain an Indian war, or the greater conflict with France. As the ordinary expenditures were so slight, so was taxation; and though this finally proved to be a cause of

great discontent, it was the principle, and mode of administering some of the tax laws, rather than the amount which the government sought to extract from the people, that led them into revolution.

The second chapter deals with the revolution and the confederacy, and the third with the financial provisions of the constitution. The latter chapter, of fourteen pages, is luminous reading. The author says that the exclusive grant of import duties to Congress was strongly denounced because the states would be thereby deprived of the resources needful to sustain their own credit. "Most abhorrent of all was the grant of internal taxation to the federal government." Citizens were solemnly asked what would be their reflections when a host of rapacious tax-masters invaded the land, "who will wrest from you the hard product of your industry, turn out your children from their dwellings, perhaps commit your bodies to a jail." A contemporary writer replies that "this is the mere frenzy of declaration"; but, Dr. Dewey adds, "nevertheless these fears were sincere."

The next history of the national period begins with a chapter on the organization of the Treasury Department, the assumption and funding of the state debts incurred in the revolutionary struggle and the establishing of a system of taxation on imports.

Then follow other chapters on the creation of a national bank; the establishment of a system of coinage and internal taxation; the second war with Great Britain and the creation of the second national bank, the revival of internal taxation and a heavy and more general tax on imports. It was after this war that the taxation of imports for the double purpose of deriving an income and of protecting the American producer became one of the most important matters,—a place it has since held except when shadowed by the civil war and a few other events of brief duration. Dr. Dewey has treated this subject with golden candor and his usual clearness. It is quite impossible for anyone to give the true origin of much of our tariff tinkering, the mysteries and intricacies of the changes, which interests were to be helped or injured by them. Were Senator Aldrich, for example, to give us a tithe of the knowledge he possesses concerning the origin of the warp and woof of the last tariff measure and how the materials were finally woven together, it would be interesting reading. Still more difficult is the task of tracing the consequences of this legislation. Within the space at his command, Dr. Dewey has done much to give the reader the most important facts.

The civil war brought forth some great measures, many loans, a government paper money, a national banking system, the establishment of an income tax, another system of internal taxation, and an increase and complication of the taxes on imports. All of these matters are described briefly yet clearly, and it will be the reader's fault if he lays down the book without understanding them.

It should be added that each chapter is prefaced with references to the best authorities, which will be of great value to those who desire to make further explorations, or to verify the author's statements. As the topics are well arranged, in chapters of convenient length, the book ought quickly to find a place in our educational institutions, many of which are at last giving

this subject the importance it deserves. Too long have the economic and moral sides of American history been overshadowed and darkened by the political. With this excellent book in existence, there is no longer excuse for not presenting the financial side in every fairly complete course on American history.

ALBERT S. BOLLES.

Haverford, Pa.

The Souls of Black Folk. By W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS. Pp. x, 264. Chicago: A. C. McClurg Company, 1903.

"Herein lie buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the twentieth century." With this sentence Professor Dubois, of Atlanta University, opens his book bearing the significant title of "The Souls of Black Folk." A more interesting book seldom comes into one's hands. The simple black cover with its gilt letters, the chapters headed with a few bars of some of the old negro melodies, the sorrow songs, seem in keeping with the theme. The interest in the subject matter is increased by the literary form in which it is couched. In the forethought the author says: "First, in two chapters I have tried to show what emancipation meant. In a third I have pointed out the slow use of personal leadership. Then in two others I have sketched in swift outline the two worlds within and without the Veil, and thus have come to the central problem of training men for life . . . I have in two chapters studied the struggles of the massed millions of the black peasantry and have sought to make clear the present relations of the sons of master and man. . . . I have stepped within the Veil, raising it that you may view . . . the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls."

Though deserving of high praise, the book has its serious faults. As one reads there is not only a growing appreciation of the injustices to which attention is called, but also a growing protest against the spirit of the author. There is a tendency to snarl against social customs, an evidence of mental bitterness, natural perhaps, but one wishes Mr. Dubois could rise above it. Not until he ceases to go about with "chips on his shoulders" as it were, will he gain the influence to which his mental attainments entitle him. No doubt it is strange to "be a problem"; "an American, a negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings." Yet, one who knows the educational opportunities afforded Professor Dubois, finds it hard to appreciate the statement that the soul-longing of the negro is that "He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the door of opportunity closed roughly in his face." The reader is sometimes inclined to think that the author might well have added to his other indications of a classical education another quotation: "Vergiftet sind meine Lieder."

To Professor Dubois the "problem of the twentieth century is that of the color line." He pleads for the extinction of race prejudice. We must seek

its "abatement and not its systematic encouragement and pampering by all agencies of social power from the Associated Press to the Church of Christ." This he seems to feel is taking place to-day. To America of to-day the negroes do not come empty-handed. "There are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American negroes."

To many people the centre of interest will be in the attack on the policy of Booker T. Washington. Professor Dubois says this involves for the negro a giving up of (1) political power; (2) civil rights; (3) higher education of negro youth. "This policy has been insistently and courageously advocated for over fifteen years and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm branch, what has been the result? In these years there have occurred (1) the disfranchisement of the negro; (2) the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the negro; (3) the steady withdrawal of aid for institutions for the higher training of the negro."

It is admitted that these changes have not been caused by Booker Washington, but it is charged that his influence has speeded their coming. Professor Dubois in opposition says, "On the contrary negroes must insist continuously, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood." Washington is particularly criticised in that his influence has tended to withdraw the assistance of the whites and to make the negroes stand by themselves. I do not believe the attack on Washington is successful, although there may be a measure of truth in the charge that his educational program is too narrow.

Far more helpful, in my opinion, than the chapters of criticism are those devoted to the description of the psychical evolution of the negro; the work of the Freedmen's Bureau; the experiences drawn from life as a school-teacher in the chapter headed "Of the Meaning of Progress" and the description "Of the Black Belt"; "Of the Sons of Master and Man"; "Of the Faith of the Fathers." As Professor Dubois says, the South is a most fruitful field of social study. But the author is too much inclined to emphasize the bad; to chronicle the failures, the injustices and the wrongs. He feels that the whites "tamper with the moral fibre of a naturally honest and straightforward people" and are teaching the youth that to succeed they must be sly and cunning, not open and honest. Thus arises an ethical dualism—the triumph of the lie. There is an interesting account of the career of Alexander Crummell, and a very able argument for negro colleges and universities. "Of the Coming of John" is a good story, but it ends in tragedy. The last chapter analyzes the sorrow songs.

While there is much in the book of great value, it may be emphasized again that bad as race prejudice is, it cannot be damned or bewailed out of existence. The negro is not the only victim of it. It will cease when the blacks can command and compel the respect and sympathy of the whites. The author who lives within the "Veil" of social prejudice will not accomplish his ends by such appeal as is found inserted in the afterthought: "Let the ears of a guilty people tingle with truth, and seventy millions sigh for

the righteousness which exalteth nations, in this drear day when human brotherhood is mockery and a snare." There is more of good in the relationship of the two races than Mr. Dubois would have us believe.

CARL KELSEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Greater Russia—The Continental Empire of the Old World. By WIRT GERRARE. Pp. xiii, 336. With illustrations and map of East Siberia. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

In his recent book, "Greater Russia," Wirt Gerrare, of London, departs from the usual rule in politico-economic studies. He does not claim to have consulted all the official sources and to be indebted to the officials for kindness and aid. Being an Englishman, he was compelled to enter and travel in Manchuria in disguise and the book throughout is the result of the personal observation and conversation of one who seems to know the country and the language well. He claims further that in the East the things seen are the only ones to be sure of. Mr. Gerrare has good economic and geographic instincts and gives much information concerning the resources and prospects of commercial and industrial Siberia. As a student of human nature he analyzes the Russian character and finally dips into international politics. To those who do not read books through, its usefulness is limited by an inadequate index.

Russia is on a boom. Industries are increasing, the cities are being rebuilt so rapidly that the old picturesqueness is going, but this does not mean that Russia has a creative genius. "Like a sponge Russia has absorbed; she has not assimilated. Whatever there is of western civilization in the Russian is an accretion, there is no blend. The Russian is an apt imitator, but he stops there." Russians are pleased to call their country the "new America," but, "in the 'new America' there is no initiative; all has to be brought in from the outside. Given the idea, shown the way, helped to a fair start, the Russian can go ahead with facility. The teacher is delighted; more apt pupils never were found. All goes well until the machinery wears or some little thing goes wrong; then things are at a standstill until outside help has been brought in to right them."

The Russian policy is, Russia for the Russians. The protective tariff goes high and higher, and Russia like several other countries strives to reach and maintain the peculiar position of selling much and buying little. As with foreign goods, so with the foreigner and the foreign corporation, they are not encouraged or wanted. The individual Russian's enterprise is also somewhat under the ban of the government, for the government must do everything in Russia: "it is the state that initiates, the state that achieves and the state that looks to the public for approbation. It is the state that leads, guides and pushes the public in the way it intends they should take." This necessitates a horde of officials whose power is increasing at the expense of the local councils. The officials hold together against the citizen and there is little check upon them for the guarantee of justice. Secret circulars from St. Petersburg

interpret the law and the officials, military and otherwise, are thoroughly hated and opposed by the people. "The most popular cartoon in Siberia is one showing the peasant tilling in order to enrich state and church officials, middlemen and manufacturers." The peasant is still dull and downtrodden, but is getting more liberty to leave his village commune and work in new industries. The people everywhere show increasing disrespect for officialdom.

The book contains a fair description, from the economic standpoint, of the country between the Volga and the Pacific, but most attention is given to Transbaikalia, the Greater Russia of the author. Here is a tincture of western ideas, received by way of the far east. Siberia, he thinks, has been overpraised. There are vast natural resources in agriculture, timber and metals, but there are also vast stretches of waste land. The famous railway is great only in its length and its purposes. The slightest strain or accident might overtax or stop its usefulness in time of war, and in time of peace it is sometimes entirely closed to the public because government work gives it full employment. Running expenses have not yet been met by receipts. Siberia may in the future need more railroads, but she now needs not roads but men. Siberians are better off than Russians, but the significant point is made that the present Siberia is the product of the choice Russians, the men who dared, did and were exiled; and in their exile have built up a civilization in a wilderness. In its efforts at populating the new lands the government takes the stupid peasant with a low standard of life, low wage, low diet and low efficiency, transports him across two continents, feeds him and cares for him as though he were a child, and by the time he is allotted land the last spark of initiative is gone and he expects the government to continue to care for him.

The idea that the government must have everything prevents the proper granting of land to the settler, keeps out the foreigner and his capital and places so many restrictions on industry that "at the present rate of settlement it will take generations to colonize Siberia, so that in the end Russia must be outstripped, for British colonies and other lands with no greater natural advantages have a much greater population, and produce more wealth." The attitude of government toward industry is shown by the recent violation of contracts and sudden closing of Siberian gold mines to foreigners who had even obtained titles to the diggings.

Russia's idea of her manifest destiny is to absorb Asia and start universal peace through the spread of Russian orthodoxy as a world religion. The boundaries expand wherever there is least resistance. When resistance takes a strongly threatening form Russia waits, for she cannot afford war with its possibilities of internal dangers. There is no prophesying what a foreign war would bring, with eight million Mohammedans under the yoke in Central Asia, aspiring Poland, the resentful Finns, the German Lutherans along the Baltic, the five million persecuted Jews with their grip on her finances, and the great downtrodden majority everywhere. Meanwhile conquest by rail goes on and a secret line is building or built across Mongolia to the Great Wall near Peking.

Russia's claim that her half-Asiatic origin fits her for success with the

Orientalism is not proved in experience, and the failure of the Russian to compete with the Chinese in Transbaikalia, combined with the freedom of passage, suggests to Mr. Gerrare the possibility of Chinese rather than Russian dominance in part if not the whole of Siberia.

J. RUSSELL SMITH.

The Principles of Economics. By DR. N. G. PIERSON. Volume I. Translated from the Dutch by A. A. WOTZEL. Pp. xxx, 604. Price, 10s. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903.

The translation of Dr. Pierson's monumental work on economics earnestly hoped for by Professor Edgeworth in his review of the Dutch second edition now makes its appearance, so far at least as the first volume is concerned. A second volume at present in course of translation is promised, the first containing the discussion of value in exchange and of money, while the second will review production and the revenue of the state.

This is a remarkable and weighty treatment of economics now given to the English-speaking world for the first time. That fact and the general unfamiliarity with the Dutch language seems to warrant a fuller discussion than is ordinarily accorded to a translation. The division of this first volume into value in exchange and money may be misleading. Under value and exchange there is first a thorough discussion of the idea of value, and then chapters upon the rent of land and of houses, the interest on capital, the profits of employers, the wages of laborers and prices. Part II, which occupies about a third of the book, reviews the history of bimetallism and of banking in the principal countries. Then, foreign exchanges are discussed and finally the principles upon which currencies ought to be regulated.

One of the most interesting features of the work is the introduction in which the author discusses the general concept of economic science and the limits of the subject. This section was added in the second edition of the original, apparently for purposes of controversy. Dr. Pierson rejects the artificial distinction that has been set up between economic policy and the theory of economics, for he denies that any distinct line between the two fields of thought can be drawn. Professor Marshall's definition of economic law is accepted by him as correct, though he thinks that Marshall does not go far enough. In general, says he, the deductive method must be used. These general views give the key to the whole plan. Disregarding the stereotyped way of approaching economics, the treatment plunges at once into what American writers discuss under the head of distribution. There is little that is new in what the author has to say of the rent of land, although his treatment is marked by a singular clarity and definiteness unfortunately lacking in the work of most of the economists who have written exhaustively on the subject. The same criticism, however, cannot be offered on the treatment of house rent. Here there is much skillful classification and analysis of conditions affecting such rents. The discussion of taxes as affecting house rents and of changes in the cost of building as influencing older values suggest Ricardian methods of reasoning. Both here and in the portion treating of agricultural

rents the influence of Marshall can be very plainly seen. The conclusions reached are eminently sane and sound, the logic (granting the author's premises) flawless, the method interesting and stimulating.

There are no more instructive chapters in the volume than those which relate to wages and prices. On wages, Dr. Pierson is semi-classical in his treatment. He maintains that Thornton's theory of wages contains or implies three elements of truth: (1) that wages are largely determined by the productive power with which capital and labor co-operate; (2) that in the long run the wages of labor cannot be lower than the "value in exchange of labor"; (3) that wages are largely influenced by limitations upon the numbers of workers in a country. Granting that we are considering a trade which necessitates the outlay of great physical strength or skill, or assuming that trade unions are highly organized and powerful, Thornton's theory of wages, says Pierson, may be correct. But this rule is not absolute. Changes take place, and the result is that wages are altered. After a careful examination not only of the views of classical economists, but also of some of the moderns, it is concluded that the laborer derives his income from the same source as the capitalist, and that the wages of labor cannot exceed the advantage procured by its employment in behalf of the capitalist. Wages must, in fact, fall very far short of this advantage in a process of bargaining, and are governed by four causes: (1) the amount of population; (2) the returns obtained by the co-operation of capital and labor in general; (3) the returns which capital and labor obtain on the economic margin of production; and (4) the quantity of capital seeking investment in productive enterprise.

Of prices as measured by money, the author treats at some length. He accepts the quantity theory in a moderate form regarding price fluctuations as due to changes in the amount of money in circulation. It may be added that in speaking of international trade, his theory is colored by the attitude thus taken with reference to the doctrine of money prices. Of prices as representing the ratios in which goods exchange for each other, Dr. Pierson asserts that a tendency exists toward the establishment of what he calls normal price, but he does not consider this normal price identical with expenses of production in each and every case. The theories of the Austrian school receive recognition in the doctrine that a fixed relation of utility brings about a fixed relation of prices of goods. This is not held to be incompatible with the author's views on cost of production, for "there are many goods which it would be quite possible to supply and which could very well be used, but which are never produced because they are esteemed less useful than other goods whose production entailed the same labor." Some doubtless will be unwilling to accept this easy method of harmonizing discordant theories of prices.

It would seem that Dr. Pierson's chapters on money are the least satisfactory part of his work. He has given one chapter to the leading monetary systems, one to banking systems of the world, one to the foreign exchanges, and one to the regulation of currencies. Among the principal monetary systems he mentions only Great Britain and India, France and the Latin Union, Germany and Austria-Hungary, Holland and the United States; while

among banking systems he examines only those of England, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland and the United States. There is little of new theory in the discussion. It accepts the well-known doctrines of international trade, antagonizes protection and opposes bimetallism even of the "international" description, under existing circumstances. All this is clearly and definitely set forth with a conciseness and discrimination of the most admirable quality. It is disappointing to find, therefore, a considerable number of inaccurate statements which are of such a character, moreover, as to weaken confidence in Dr. Pierson's accuracy where facts relating to countries other than his own are concerned. Thus, speaking of banking in the United States, he says: "The year 1863 was not the first in which privileges were accorded to a bank by the federal government; but whereas before they had been accorded to one particular institution, now they can be secured by any bank. The one institution referred to was the United States Bank, established in 1791. The charter of that bank, after expiring in 1836, was renewed by the state of Pennsylvania. It never had a monopoly, but its notes were accepted in all the federal treasuries (sic)." Later Dr. Pierson seems to have supposed that the national bank act of 1863 is now in full operation, for he speaks of its provisions as applicable to the national banks. He, moreover, falls into the error common among European writers of supposing that the "10 per cent tax" on state banknotes operates like a real tax. He speaks of it as if it were an annual tax similar to the tax on national bank currency. Although Professor Edgeworth, writing in 1896, spoke of the second part of this book (on money and banking) as having been brought up to date, it is evident from a reading of some of the chapters that such a complete character had not been given to those sections which relate to the United States. Moreover, some slips and errors seem to indicate that the same neglect appears in the case of other countries as well. Apparently Professor Edgeworth's main reason for considering the book up to date at the time he wrote was only that the author had made use of the then recent book of Mr. L. L. Price on money! It would seem that in some respects the book has had actually some addenda subsequent to the first edition. But these consist merely of a paragraph here and there by way of completion of historical outlines already begun. The treatment of money in the United States is disproportionately short. Errors also occur in the account of the Latin monetary union.

An adequate treatment of Professor Pierson's book within the brief limits of a review would be impossible. It is enough to say in general terms that the book is striking in its method, solid and impressive in its reasoning, and marked in its vindication of the older theories, though it is unfortunately true that it contains many blemishes, some errors of fact, and some sections out of proportion with others. While it will not be useful as a handbook on account of these errors, and while its size may unfit it for use as a text-book, it is sure to hold an important and permanent place as a systematic treatment of economics.

H. PARKER WILLIS.

Lexington, Va.

Rhode Island, Its Making and Its Meaning, 1636-1683. By IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN, with an Introduction by JAMES BRYCE, M. P., D. C. L. Two volumes. Pp. 266 and 295. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902.

These volumes, with their artistic make-up, their good maps, and the indorsement of the greatest political thinker of the present time, are sure to have close scrutiny. In the main, they bear the critical search-light favorably, though falling short of the highest excellence.

The author seems to have the historical method of work, but has an unfortunate air of predisposition to a theory for which he is seeking support. Yet he is a better investigator than he is a political philosopher. The table of contents shows that he aspires to the latter distinction, which, perhaps fortunately, he escapes. He has the historical appetite for original sources, which, together with the work of his predecessors, he has fully used.

Arnold, the most thorough student who preceded Mr. Richman, was an annalist, whereas the latter is enough of a philosopher to generalize with convincing force, and has admirably massed his facts to show the tendencies of the colony. In scholarship the work is fair and accurate, and well up to the present standards of historical work.

If the author disregards economic conditions wholly, and gives little attention to constitutional questions, yet in other respects his treatment is good as to perspective and historical proportion. The style is readable and the author sympathetic with his subject, indeed, his past work seems to identify him with themes of political and social freedom.

The author seeks to prove that Roger Williams and his colony connect the religious reformation of the sixteenth century with the political revolution of the eighteenth. Williams is described as understanding individualism fully on the religious side, but only in part on the political side. It remained for Rhode Island to attain the last. Individualism was the ruling tendency there, and to liberty of conscience in religion was soon added democracy in politics. This outgrowth was aided by the early independent local governments, and emphasis is laid upon the fact that Rhode Island was created by the union of towns originally independent. In these towns the first settlers were of diverse beliefs and stock. Absolute religious freedom was necessary in order that they might live together.

Roger Williams' part in founding Rhode Island is fully and truly given, the author being aware of his hero's limitations as well as his powers. The Massachusetts theocracy is shown in conflict with the spirit of toleration characteristic of the time. Williams, the American champion of that toleration, is exiled. Mr. Richman does not consider as carefully as Edward Eggleston, in "Beginners of a Nation," whether the magistrates and clergy of Massachusetts were aroused against him on account of his attack on the patent or his defence of toleration. Only such inquiry can determine the justice of their conduct toward him. Whatever the cause of his exile, he became the founder of the new colony whose ground plan was freedom of conscience. Then begins the evolution toward political, individual freedom. The factions on the mainland and those on the island have a struggle which ends in establishing the principle of political individualism. Almost at once this principle

suffered a test in the problem of how far individualism might go in resisting government. William Harris denied the right of any government restraint, while Roger Williams declared that individualism could not go thus far. After political individualism had "paralyzed the arm of Rhode Island in time of peril from the Indians," Williams' position was accepted by the colony.

C. H. VAN TYNE

The Woman Who Toils. Being the Experience of Two Ladies as Factory Girls. By MRS. JOHN VAN VORST and MARIE VAN VORST. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903.

"The Woman Who Toils" is the experience of two society women—"ladies" they invidiously call themselves, following the English rather than the American custom—as factory girls. The book is a joint production, but throughout it reads like a novel, and it is interesting and entertaining, the more so because of the introduction of irrelevant matter which shows what incidents impressed the writers in their contact with women of another sphere.

The first part pictures life in a pickle factory in Pittsburg; in factories in Perry, a New York mill town, and in clothing and other shops in Chicago. The writer has laid out for herself the rather large task of giving a clear picture of factory life, "of the economic conditions, of the natural, social and legal equipment of woman as a working entity, of her physical, moral and esthetic development." In a few weeks of factory life it was hardly possible to accomplish this object. Detailed descriptions, however, are always of interest, but the conclusions of the writer as to woman's position and attitude toward her work have long been familiar to economic writers. Two conclusions of the work deserve consideration: (1) the race suicide question; and (2) industrial work for the semi-dependent girls. Mrs. Van Vorst has helped to start a new discussion of the race suicide question from the American standpoint. Coming from a class where the women are luxurious, idle, fond of dress and have few children, Mrs. Van Vorst finds that the factory girls in their idle hours discuss beaux, spend their money on pretty things and are unwilling to terminate their flirtations by settling down to married life. While there are grave dangers in certain tendencies of American women, the fact is overlooked that empty-headed women will always be limited to these matters of interest, and that in the factory, not as it is, but as it might be—an educational and social force in the community, giving industrial training and broad social contact—lies a possible solution of the difficulty. Moreover, the extensive publicity of life to-day, which brings people out of their domestic hiding-places, merely throws into prominence, rather than causes certain evils. Premature marriages have always been a source of disaster to the poor. This is an age of transition in which the responsibilities of married life are recognized. It is, perhaps, well that the selfish and unfit are unwilling to undertake them.

Recognizing the need of training and the competition of the semi-supported women, Mrs. Van Vorst makes the valuable suggestion of attracting these

girls into another field,—“which requires instruction and especial training, which pays them as well while calling into play higher faculties than the brutalizing machine labor,”—that of industrial art work. The opportunities for industrial art are certainly extensive and doubtless a new field of work will be opened to women along this line, but it will be in the factory. Home work always leads to sweating, while the possibilities of the factory as a social institution are very great.

The second part of the book describes making shoes in Lynn and life in the southern cotton mill, including a chapter on child labor. The writer's experience in the southern mills is vividly told, and probably the description is in no way overdrawn. It is of especial interest in connection with the recent discussions of child labor, and the efforts of the South to remedy this evil. Yankee hypocrisy is well shown in the protest of the northern mill owner—a woman, too—that “the children like to work in the mills.” The enthusiasm of childhood is thus used as an argument for stunting growth and curtailing development. The contrast pictured between the finely equipped mills and the mean, unsanitary, crowded villages, dispels the bright promises of the prospectuses. Miss Van Vorst makes it very plain that such villages are as bad for children as city slums.

The factories of Massachusetts are generally supposed to be of a high order. How much is yet to be done is made evident in the picture of dark conditions in Lynn.

The reader must question the taste of a certain naïve snobbery about the book, which gives the value of garment before and after the metamorphosis of the writer, which refers to the former Paris gowns and ladies' maids and which also shows the antagonism of the well-to-do toward any pretense among the working girl “swells” or leaders.

EMILY FOGG MEADE

Philadelphia.

Pure Sociology. A Treatise on the Origin and Spontaneous Development of Society. By LESTER F. WARD. Pp. xii, 606. Price, \$4.00. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903.

Anything upon sociology coming from the pen of Mr. Lester F. Ward will command the most careful attention from American readers. His profound knowledge in the natural sciences gives him a point of view in treating of the genesis of social institutions possessed by but few writers on sociology. Added to this his extended study of sociology covering a period of over thirty years gives him a right to command the attention of thinking students everywhere, whether they agree with him on fundamental principles or not. The author's former works on sociology, “The Dynamic Sociology” (1883), “The Psychic Factors of Civilization” (1893), and “The Outlines of Sociology” (1896), never constituted a system, and heretofore Mr. Ward has suffered much at the hands of critics who assumed that he had already presented to the world his system of sociology. The publications subsequent to “The Dynamic Sociology” brought out adverse criticisms on the ground that the

author was devoting most of his energies to bolstering up positions already taken without developing much that was new. Without going into the merits of this criticism, it is sufficient to say that those who have expected a résumé of his former publications in "The Pure Sociology" will be surprised to find an altogether new aim, and as he puts it in his preface, "the subjects are viewed from a different angle of vision."

Mr. Ward tells us in his preface that he is now aiming to establish a system of sociology. This volume, "The Pure Sociology," is the first part, and a promised volume, "Applied Sociology," is to be the second part. The secondary title to "The Pure Sociology," "The Origin and Spontaneous Development of Society," states clearly the purpose of this volume. The aim of "The Applied Sociology" will be to show how society modifies itself.

As the volume before us consists of nearly six hundred pages of closely printed material in which a vast fund of knowledge is condensed, it will be impossible to do anything more in a brief review than to give a mere outline of the salient features of the work. The volume is divided into three parts—Taxis, Genesis and Telesis—nearly two-thirds of it being devoted to the second division. In the first part are discussed the general characteristics, the subject matter, and the methodology of sociology, the systems of sociology, and the establishment and development of sciences. The second part, Genesis, deals with the genesis and development of social forces into the formation of society and social institutions. In the third part, Social Telesis, emphasis is put on the genetic elements of telesis, otherwise this division should appear in "Applied Sociology."

Pure sociology is distinguished from applied sociology in having nothing whatever to do with the purposeful activity of man or society. It is described also as having no concern with what society ought to be, or any social ideals. It confines itself strictly to the present and the past, allowing the future to take care of itself. It totally ignores the purpose of the science and aims at truth wholly for its own sake.

The discussion on How Science Advances is particularly illuminating, and no one could take issue with the author on the status of sociology from the point of view of its advancement. Twelve systems of sociology are classified, each of which is grouped about a unitary principle, and claims are put forward by the devotees of each system to show that a particular one is of itself the science of sociology.

The author takes the position that the subject matter of sociology is human achievement.²⁹ It is not what men are, but what they do. Sociologists are nearly all working in the department of social anatomy, when they should turn their attention to social physiology. And again he maintains "that the products of achievement are not material things at all."³⁰ They are not ends, but means. They are methods, ways, principles, devices, arts, systems, institutions. In a word, they are inventions."

The last paragraph of the chapter on methodology states the author's position on the relation of sociology to the other special social sciences. "It³¹

²⁹ P. 15.

³⁰ P. 25.

³¹ P. 62.

is the function of methodology in social science to classify social phenomena in such a manner that the groups may be brought under uniform laws and treated by exact methods. Sociology then becomes an exact science. In doing this, too, it will be found that we have passed from chaos to cosmos. Human history presents a chaos. The only science which can convert the milky way of history into a definite social universe is sociology, and this can only be done by the use of an appropriate method, by using the data furnished by all the special social sciences, including the great scientific truths of psychology, biology and cosmology and generalizing and co-ordinating the facts and groups of facts until unity is attained."

In Part II, on *Genesis*, the discussion of the relation of sociology to the special social sciences is continued. Here it is maintained that sociology stands at the head of the entire series of sciences and is enriched by all the results of each.

In the chapter on *Dynamic Agent*, dynamic is used to denote force. It is argued that "the law of conservation of energy and correlation of forces is as applicable to psychic and social forces as to physical forces." Desire is a natural force, and "the collective desires of associated men are the social forces." Desire is a condition of pain, and all the pleasures of life are associated with the satisfaction of desires.

In explaining the origin of the subjective faculties, it is held that "the initial and irreducible element of mind is feeling." But feeling must furnish an interest, and "the only conceivable basis of interest is agreeableness or its opposite. The author holds that the purpose of creation is involved in the bringing of life into existence and its perpetuation, and the conditions of pleasure and pain are absolutely necessary to the existence of plastic organisms. In holding that feeling is necessary to function, and that it in turn becomes the sole end of the individual's life, the author puts himself on well-known hedonistic grounds. Mr. Ward finds fault with such writers as Huxley and Spencer, who, while holding to the evolutionary theory, regard consciousness as something that differs from all other things. "It practically amounts," he claims, "to a recognition of discontinuity, and seems to me virtually to give away the whole evolutionary or monistic hypothesis."

In the chapter on *Social Mechanics* the author concludes that there is a true science of social mechanics which deals with social energy, which is a special mode of manifestation of the universal energy. Social statics and social dynamics are claimed to be as legitimate branches of mechanics as are hydrostatics and hydrodynamics. In the chapter on *Social Statics* the author introduces the term *synergy* to express energy and mutuality, or "the systematic and organic working together of the antithetical forces of nature." There is cosmic unity and universal polarity in nature. As to the second, it is shown that each force meets with resistance and there is always a competition of forces resulting in partial equilibrium, and finally ending in collaboration and co-operation. In the organic world the primary contending forces are those of heredity and variation. The operation of these forces is then explained. Social dynamics are contrasted with social statics in the following statement: "In all departments of nature where the statical condition is

represented by structures, the dynamic condition consists in some changes in the type of such structures." Wherever there is a change in type of structure of whatever sort which changes the relations of an organism to its environment we have social dynamics.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Ward's earlier works will recall his classification of the social forces. The two main groups are the essential forces and the non-essential forces. The essential forces consist of the preservative and reproductive forces, while the non-essential forces are divided into the esthetic, emotional and intellectual forces. The preservation forces are discussed in the chapter entitled the Ontogenetic Forces. Here the influence which those forces that have subsistence and protection for their ends exert on the creation and transformation of social structures is considered. Under the head of the Phylogenetic Forces are discussed "those forces that have reproductions for their functional end in the direction of creating and transforming social structures." Recognizing that there has been but little scientific investigation in this field, Mr. Ward traces the genesis of these forces at considerable length. The non-essential or higher forces, the emotional, the esthetic and the intellectual forces are discussed under the head of Sociogenetic Forces. These forces are described as making their appearance at nearly the same stage in human development, and a physical basis for each is sought.

Part III, Telesis, is considered under the following chapters: The Directive Agent, Biologic Origin of the Objective Faculties, the Non-advantageous Faculties, The Conquest of Nature, Socialization and Achievement. This part seems to encroach somewhat on territory surveyed for a different volume. However, as stated before, emphasis is here put upon the spontaneous development in individual and social control.

In conclusion, but little needs to be said. The great task of the author seems to be to show the unity of phenomena. The work he is doing in showing the genesis of social phenomena and its relation to the phenomena of other more advanced sciences is a kind of work which belongs to the initial stages of a science, and on that account it is very valuable. Before sociology can advance beyond the early stages of a science, sociologists must investigate social phenomena at first hand and establish laws based upon the revelations of that phenomena.

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THE ANNALS

OF THE
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ASSOCIATE EDITORS: SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY and JAMES T. YOUNG

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A MODEL SCHOOL

By PROFESSOR P. P. CLAXTON, head of the Department of Pedagogy in the
University of Tennessee

The model country school, after all, is not so difficult a thing to realize if we consider a few principles of education which will give us an idea of what the country school should be like. We must remember that in all time it has been the purpose of education to prepare the pupils for the lives which they are to live. We must remember, also, that all education grows out of the life that the people really live. It is a selective process, it is a revising process. The law of the less of interest the less of growth, the rule of beginning where you are and going to where you must reach, hold in the country just as they do in the city.

The time was when we took probably one boy out of ten and one girl out of fifteen or twenty, or more, and we expected these people to be professional men, or ladies and gentlemen of leisure; they were to be lawyers and statesmen and orators and literary gentlemen; they were to be possible leaders, they were to have to do in some way with talk, and we taught them for that purpose very largely, and so we had a fixed course. But the day has come when we are undertaking to educate the children of all the people for all the walks of life. We are beginning to try the great experiment of bringing intelligence and intellectuality and heart and spirit to all industry, to all the life that all the people must live. We are trying to answer that great prayer that Jesus prayed for His disciples—not to take them out of the world, but to make them a part of the world; that each boy and girl may do with less labor the work their parents did, and that each man shall walk away from his daily task a free man; that the man who turns the clod may himself be more than a clod and the man that beats the anvil may have a heart more sympathetic than his own iron.

All people must be prepared for two things. First, they must be prepared for life. That is the great thing in educational machinery, it must give culture, that enlargement, that giving of the mind, that giving of the soul and the heart to the task, that bringing of

each individuality into contact with the great human interests of the world. Without that, all life must be a failure. Whether the boy is to live in the country as a farmer, or in the city as a professional man, the one great profession of all men, and all women, is humanity. So every school, in the city or in the country, must remember to open its doors to humanity for the pupils in the schools, it must make of them men and women, it must bring them into contact with the great sources of inspiration, with the great literature, with the great heart of the world, with all that lifts up.

The second thing to be remembered is that all people must make a living. The day has come when people do not live in honor when they live by the labor of some one else. Every person must in some way either make his or her own support or contribute to the good of the world. I have come to believe that a good long step towards honest living is the ability to make an honest living, and that an honest life grows easily out of the ability to work in such a way that your work will contribute to your support and the support of those dependent on you. One must bear one's own burden and do something towards bearing the common burden. We will learn some day that that is the true solution of the negro problem in the South, when each negro has some ambition to make his own living and do something more; then other phases of the race problem will rapidly get out of the way.

With this in mind, what shall we do? The country school is for country children who know about country things, and who, if our civilization is to continue as it is in the South, must largely live in the country, though of course some of them will go to the city. For that reason the state will have to educate some of its own citizens in the country.

The country school should have a minimum of three acres of land. I think it ought to have more than that. I have to do with one where we have about twelve acres of land. There is a hill on which the schoolhouse is to be built, which slopes down to a pond. We are going to plant trees there and down at the pond we are going to plant water lilies. We are going to build a schoolhouse which will have six rooms about 24 by 36 feet, and in addition there will be a large assembly room, large enough to accommodate the people who will come there to any entertainment for the people of the district. There will be halls and cloak rooms in addition. It will be

built in an artistic way. The ceilings will be thirteen feet high, the rooms well lighted and well ventilated, and there will be water in it, pumped from a little spring down at the foot of a hill. It will be built of wood. I had a letter recently saying that it could be built of stone if we had another \$1,500; it is in a marble region; think of a marble schoolhouse!

There will be a house for the teacher. There ought to be teacherages in the country, as well as parsonages. The plans have been drawn for a house to cost about \$1,750; it would cost about \$3,000 in the city. It will be a good home for the teacher. To begin with, it will have the grounds around it laid out by our professor of horticulture in Tennessee. The principal of the school will be required to live in that house and keep it in such a way that the grounds and the house will be a model for the people about there. An orchard will be planted on the hill back of the schoolhouse, a strawberry bed will be made, if not for the sake of the fruit, at least for the sake of showing how to care for a vineyard and how to support it and how to pick off a few grapes so that the remainder will grow larger and be better than if all were allowed to remain on the vine. We shall attempt not to make any experiments, but to show what has been done in other places. We shall require the principal to see that it shall be demonstrated to the farmers what has been done by the most advanced knowledge in raising grapes in that section.

The course of study in a country school should be broad. I believe in the freest kind of election. All children should be taught to read, to write, to spell, something of language and something of culture from the human side. I suppose geography is in that list, the connection between the dead sciences and the live sciences if I may call them such for the moment, and history and literature. Through that course of study there will be a reading lesson every day. Children will be taught to read in a year or two, and then they will read for the sake of the matter. It will be the great literature of the world, that ought to be the common heritage of all the people—great because it takes hold of the human heritage of the heart. Then there will be a laboratory for chemistry and physics.

Some years ago I had the opportunity of studying the schools of Liverpool. I learned there the great lesson that little children

twelve to fifteen years old may begin in a laboratory, with apparatus that costs very little, to learn the great fundamental principles of physics and chemistry. That knowledge one must have in modern life to understand the things about him. The laboratory is not for everybody, but certainly for those who go into the higher grades.

There will be a shop in this school where boys can learn to do with hammer and plane the things necessary on a farm, and the girls will be taught to cook and sew.

I think everybody believes now, except a very few people, that the school must take hold on life; that if the girls in the country must take hold of that which is provided by their fathers and brothers and husbands, and use a fractional part of it and sell what remains to the world and put the money in the bank, then there is the opportunity for education to serve our country people.

Next comes the question of the teacher. If the people of the South solve the question of the teacher, all other questions will be solved. The Germans say, "As is the teacher, so is his school." The Swedes go further and say, "The teacher is the school." If we had in our Southern country nothing but bright, thinking men and women for teachers, we would have everything all right. We shall try to get the proper kind of teachers in those schools. Why should all teachers have the same examination? Let us find a man who can teach horticulture, a woman who can teach cooking and sewing. It makes no difference if she doesn't know what is the longest river in the world—she is teaching sewing.

We want somebody who can teach vocal music. The most practical thing, in city or country, after reading and writing, is the power to sing. I can be reasonably happy if I cannot translate American money into Russian kopecks, but I could not be happy if I could not sing at churches and Sunday schools. We want some one to teach the children how to sing; and if she does not know percentage quite well but can teach singing, I should say we need her for that school. In other words, we need six teachers for that school, for from two hundred and fifty to three hundred children live in a mile and a half of that school, and it hurts no child to walk that far.

I understand the difficulty of making any new thing a success, but these things are not very difficult, and the scheme ought to succeed.

THE TEACHER AND THE STATE

By DR. J. H. KIRKLAND, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

The attention of educational leaders in the South during past years has been largely fixed on one problem—the need of universal primary education. No one will maintain that this need has been unduly emphasized or immoderately pressed. Every investigation that has been made has helped to establish the fact that a shameful degree of illiteracy prevails in the South among both the white and black races. That this degree of illiteracy is not so bad as it might be, or not so bad as it has been, does not content us. Honesty and candor compel us to admit that the present condition of education, especially so far as regards the white population of the South, is discreditable to us as a people and is without satisfactory excuse. We cannot excuse the deficiencies of 1903 by the history of 1863. Our wilderness has not lasted forty years; in this time we have passed from desolation to plenty and two generations have grown to manhood. But the true historian will always find in the past an explanation, if not an excuse, for the present, and so it is in this case.

Perhaps the most terrible feature of the great struggle through which the South passed was the depression that followed. Our people were face to face, not only with the ashes of their homes and the graves of their dead, but with the wreck and ruin of the whole social fabric which they had built up. In the desolation of that hour they felt stunned and bewildered. Their faces were set to the past and their hearts refused to be comforted; as the sea bird with broken wing disdains the fields of plenty and stalks the barren shore, with eye ever fixed on the ocean wave that was its home, and from which an unkind fate has driven it. For this attitude the South has been judged severely and harshly, and yet it was entirely natural. The next important fact to be remembered is the extreme impoverishment of the South. This was not a passing discomfort of a few years, but the fixed status of this section for twenty long years. During this period the assessed valuation of property steadily declined from more than five thousand million dollars to less than two thousand

million. No wonder we talk about the new South; of the old South nothing was left save its barren hillsides washed and scarred by four years of neglect. Statistics do not help much here. To strangers they tell but little, and we who passed through that period do not need them; our memories need no reminder. We know what it means to enter into association with those heavenly powers whose fellowship, as Goethe tells us, can only be attained by those who have eaten their bread with tears and spent the solitary watches of the night in silent suffering. I would not dwell on these things; they are only alluded to because they are essential in order to understand the problems with which we are concerned to-day.

Since 1880 the recuperation of the South has been rapid and remarkable. Our industrial revival has been so frequently commented on that it is familiar to all. The increase in value of farms, farm products, implements and machinery, live stock, cotton mills, coal mines, iron foundries, railroads, has far surpassed the general average of increase for the country at large and has been a surprise even to ourselves. The South is throwing off the burden of its poverty. Her orchards are loaded with fruit, her gardens with vegetables, her fields are white with a cotton crop worth four hundred million dollars, mines are opened on every hillside, furnace fires lighted in every valley, and the hum of machinery is heard in every village and by every stream. We are sending granite to New England, iron to Pennsylvania, marble to Italy, and "coals to New-castle." But in the midst of this growing prosperity our progress in educational matters remains discreditable. The expenditure per capita of population has increased, but we are actually spending less for each pupil in attendance on public schools than was spent in 1870.

We recognize, therefore, the timeliness of the great movement which the Southern Education Board has organized. We are thankful for every paper than can be written, for every investigation that can be made, for every word of warning, of entreaty, of encouragement that can be uttered. In that union of effort we realize the oneness of the American people. The study of abstract problems promotes differences. The Northern point of view differs materially from the Southern in regard to some points in our life and civilization. Manufacturers of cheap politics parade these differences and accentuate them. An irresponsible journalism

arrays one section against another ; but when we join forces in the great work of education, and see each other face to face, eye to eye, it then becomes clear that there are no material differences, that we all alike desire and are striving after the same things largely in the same way. Our problems in the South are yours, our interests are yours ; yours, too, are our successes and yours our failures.

“ For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong ;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame :
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.”

Perhaps it is now in order to emphasize for a moment the supreme importance of the teacher in this work we are planning for the South. In doing so we do not detract from the importance of every other agency alluded to, but before them all and above them all I place as the supreme educational need of the South at this time, competent teachers. All the problems of the school are in the end the problem of the teacher. The schoolhouse is but a body, the teacher is the soul ; even books are to most boys and girls dead rubbish until vitalized by the presence of an interpreter. We have had much to say recently of consolidating small schools into large ones, with large buildings and long terms. In a city of one of the oldest countries of the Old World is a school well consolidated, for it has 10,000 pupils ; its term is long, for it knows no regular vacation ; its pupils are earnest, for many of them live on the crumbs that fall from the table of plenty, but no light breaks for the pupil, or for the world from the Mohammedan University of Cairo. On the other hand, without a building, without endowment, Athens became the schoolmistress of the world. Socrates taught on street corners and his lessons are still being learned ; Plato in an olive grove, and Zeno in a public porch ; greater than all, Jesus of Nazareth taught by lake or by roadside, in the valley or on the mountain top. In all the ages past, universities have been great by reason of great teachers. Till recently they have had few buildings, and meager equipment outside of libraries, but for seven hundred years they have been the source of life and of light ; they have out-lived wars and revolutions, they have seen cities crumble, nations die, dynasties pass away, while they have lived on. Discarding their

own vernacular, they have spoken in a world language. The birth of our oldest universities, as at Salerno, Naples, Bologna and Paris, was due to the influence of great teachers, who, in some dismal rented hall, or in their own homes, spoke the words that drew the world to hear. And yet even universities are prone to forget these things at the present time. We go on erecting magnificent buildings, and often fail to put in them men of power. Benefactors prefer to erect buildings rather than to pay teachers. And in school work we photograph the log schoolhouse and tear it down for a new and handsome frame or brick building, but we put the same teacher into the new and leave him to his same pernicious routine of unfruitful labors. This is not sound policy, either from an educational or business standpoint. It would be poor policy in a railroad company to expend large sums on roadbed, engines and handsome rolling stock, while they leave trains to be run by brakemen instead of trained engineers. It would be poor policy for a city to deepen its harbors, erect light-houses, build great ocean steamers, and leave ignorant pilots to guide them into the breakers and dash the treasures of freight and passengers on the rocks

There are in this country about half a million teachers employed in public schools. Is it too much to say that a large proportion of them are unfit for this responsible position? If I were afraid to say so, I could easily quote to this effect statements made in every section by leaders in every department of educational work. Go to the office of any state superintendent and read the letters received from his teachers; look over the examination papers on which certificates are granted; go to the county institutes and work with the teachers present, remembering that the best are present, while the most inefficient stay away. It is not necessary to go into details here. It would be easy to wing my words with sarcasm or ridicule, but I forbear. I am speaking of my brothers and sisters, my colleagues in a great calling, and there is occasion for tears rather than laughter. Two years ago at the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, Mr. Frank L. Jones, superintendent of education for the state of Indiana, presented these figures based on information secured concerning 20,662 teachers in ten states. These ten states were: Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa. Of these 20,662 teachers, 2,450 were teaching

without previous experience, 4,880 had only a common school education, and 8,600 had not studied beyond the high school. If this state of affairs exists in the states whose system of public schools is held up to us as a model, what would the records of the Southern states show? In my own state of Tennessee out of 9,396 certificates issued in 1900, 7,086 were third grade, and few, if any, of these teachers had had any instruction in school methods. This is a typical instance of Southern conditions. What can be done to remedy this state of affairs? One view often expressed is that this matter will settle itself as soon as longer school terms and better pay are provided. But the president of the Conference for Education in the South, in his annual address one year ago, asked this question: "If millions of money were ready, where are the teachers? Is there not here a new question for pedagogy to solve?" Our great educational revival will bring us longer terms. About this there can be no doubt. The writing on the wall is plain and cannot be misinterpreted. This change will come more rapidly than some of us have dared to hope, but will we have an improved order of teachers ready to meet the new conditions? This inquiry we can certainly answer in the negative unless we begin now to make preparation. This problem is worthy the most serious thought at the present time, and calls for more active efforts than have hitherto been put forth. There are two points to be considered here: one is, to improve the supply of teachers we now have; the other, to get ready a new and better trained supply to take their places. The first task can only be accomplished in ways somewhat irregular. There is no process by which the teacher can be born again or be made to begin over again, but by county and state institutes, by reading circles, by correspondence courses, and by summer schools great improvement can be brought about in a condition well-nigh intolerable. The pressure of school officials, county and state, can aid much in this work. But let us not overrate these means of grace. They are only palliative, not radically curative. More permanent results will be secured by the establishment of normal schools and by the improvement of those already existing. Even high schools can give normal courses to prospective teachers, and our colleges and universities should lend their assistance by establishing chairs of pedagogy and providing practical as well as theoretical work along this line. We have not yet begun to take hold of this question seriously

in the South. Some things already done must be undone,—some institutions using the name of normal schools, normal colleges and normal universities must be banished from the list of reputable institutions and forced to close their doors or mend their ways,—and all of us must try to do better and reach higher standards than those already attained.

This work belongs primarily to the state, and the state alone is able to carry it out. It is of as great importance to the state as the training of sailors and soldiers, and the licensing of teachers should be as carefully guarded as the licensing of lawyers and doctors. The Greek word for state has given us two words that indicate two spheres of activity—unfortunately, neither of them the highest: one is *police* and the other *politician*. One of these indicates that part of state activity that belongs to ourselves; the other that part which we apply to our neighbors. But we are not willing to admit that the supreme function of the state is to be found in the struggle to rule, whether of individuals or of parties, nor yet in the restraint of open violence or crime. No doubt the protection of life and property is one of the first duties of organized society, but even this task cannot be successfully performed by the soldier or policeman. Property is lost not through robbery alone; life is endangered in other ways than by violence. Ignorance is the great destroyer of property and of life. A few microbes cause more loss of life in one year than there have been homicides in a century; a half dozen insects will inflict greater financial loss in the coming summer than robbers have occasioned in a generation. Even put on the lowest plane and expressed in the fewest terms, the duties and obligations of the state move out irresistibly into the field of education. No state has ever been truly great whose rule was merely that of the sword. Tamerlane conquered a kingdom greater than Rome's in the time of Trajan, but it passed away as a pebble dropped into the sea. The power that endures is not that of the sword, but of the spirit: the state must build its enduring habitations, not in the slaves over which it rules, but in the lives of its citizens whom it raises to be a race of kings. To do this, attention must be given to the development of a complete educational system. The state cannot rely on outside agencies. The home is the first school, but the state cannot be satisfied with that. The pulpit and the press are educative in their influence, but the state cannot be content with these. Self-interest or

associated effort may arouse certain activities and call forth institutions erroneously called private schools, private academies, or private universities. To all of these the state should lend a sympathetic support, for they are all doing the work of the state, but it may not allow the great cause of education to rest here. Beyond all this the state must go, recognizing its obligations to every child, seeing in every life the possibility of a Divine incarnation, and finding in the up-lift of the individual and the social whole, its most glorious privilege and most urgent duty.

This is the work to which the teacher must largely contribute, and for these duties he must be prepared. It is not merely a question of money. The whole profession must be elevated. The teaching profession inherits disabilities. We take our name from the slave that led the child to school, and often the teacher himself has been a slave. Slowly through the ages he has pulled himself up, and even yet he bears the mark of inferior service and feels the sting of social reproach. Read the multitude of confessions brought together in a late number of the *World's Work* and see if I do not speak the truth. The old "Town Book" gives the following as the duties of the schoolmaster in early New England: "1. To act as court messenger. 2. To serve summonses. 3. To conduct certain ceremonial services of the Church. 4. To lead the Sunday school. 5. To ring the bell for public worship. 6. To dig the graves. 7. To take charge of the school. 8. To perform other occasional duties." A somewhat more graphic description of the diversified labors of the early teacher in rural districts may be found in the following advertisement of a "Parson's Clerk," whose services were rendered in the famous Lake District of England. The undersigned "reforms ladies and gentlemen that he draws teeth witout waiting a moment, blisters on the lowest terms and fysicks at a penny. Sells God-father's cordial, cuts corns, and undertakes to keep anybody's nails by the year or so on. Young lades and gentelmen tort their grammer language in the neatest possible manner; also great care taken of their morals and spellin. I teeches joggrefy and all them outlandish things." This was the same clerk who was said to have given the following notice to the assembled congregation: "There'll be nae service in this church for m' appon a matter o' fower weeks, as parson's hen is sitting in t' pulpit."

In contrast with this, let us take the statement of Plato, who

says in regard to the minister of education that "of all the great offices of state, this is the greatest. He should be elected who, of all the citizens, is in every respect the best." To the teacher society entrusts its highest interests. The true teacher is the high priest of humanity; he is to childhood the interpreter of God and nature, he saves each generation from savagery, he gives the child his inheritance in all the achievements of the human race, he voices the wisdom of the past and the prophecies of the future. To this work he should come with a fullness of knowledge, for he bears the riches of God's universe; with skill in method, for he handles not implements of stone and wood, but human minds and hearts; with the life-giving power of a great soul, that vitalizes all it touches and pours itself out with the largess of divinity, for only thus can he quicken the soul of man.

THE CONCENTRATION OF SCHOOLS AND TRANSPORTATION OF PUPILS

By MR. G. P. GLENN, Superintendent of Schools, Jacksonville, Florida

An up-to-date educational journal wisely suggests that the social philosophers who are seeking an explanation for the rush of the rural population to the city should turn their eyes upon the district school. It is undoubtedly one of the overlooked causes.

Thousands of country people sell or rent their farms and go into town in order to give their children educational advantages which they cannot have in the country schools as they are at present conducted.

The pronounced educational advantages of the city are irresistibly attractive to the enterprising American, who always believes in the efficacy of education. If the schools of the city are to remain so incomparably better than those of the country, the exodus of the farmers to the city will continue.

A generation ago this incomparable difference did not exist, neither did there then exist a well-developed art of teaching, such as we see applied in our city schools to-day, but not in our rural schools. This is a second difference quite adequate to cause the first.

As a verification of this cause, we find the art of learning very generally well developed among pupils of city schools, while it is displayed in rural schools by only a few—a few mental giants of whom Cicero, in his comments on the genius of nature and the genius of industry, says: "Something marvelous may be expected from the youth who has both." These rare combinations of genius, in the past, have performed the wonderful feat of capturing the art of learning, despite the adverse conditions of the rural school. Unfortunately, they do not represent the masses of country school-children. Dr. Hinsdale says: "One of the most valuable arts that a boy or girl, a young man or young woman, can learn is the art of study." Jefferson Davis, in a letter to a Mississippi teacher, has incidentally left us the following excellently worded pedagogic thought: "The art of learning and the endowment to teach must both be developed in youth."

If then we note correctly that this all-important art of study or art of learning is quite apparent among pupils of the city school, but generally dormant among pupils of rural schools, we have discovered adequate cause for the incomparable excellence of the city school, and we who have charge of rural education should hasten to engraft that cause into the country schools with all possible speed.

Much of the inferiority of the country school is due to the county superintendent. He should have long ago discovered that the application and the very existence of the art of teaching has been possible in the city school, because of its peculiar organization, and impossible in the rural school because of its peculiar lack of organization. He ought to have had the professional sagacity to note that this lack of organization was due to his own delinquency. Added to such discernment and sagacity, he should have had force of character sufficient to abandon the old rural system for something better. During the last decade nearly all the Northern states, from Maine and Massachusetts through to Minnesota, have adopted, to some extent, the plan of centralizing rural schools as a means of improving them.

Massachusetts was the pioneer by many years and has very definite legislation upon the subject. Pennsylvania newspapers are filled with enthusiasm over the prospect of an early state management of the new system. Ohio has long since carried her Kingsville centralized school far beyond the pale of experiment, and has brought it into national repute. Indiana and Illinois superintendents are making pilgrimages to Ohio's Mecca, the school at Kingsville, to inspect its mode of operating, while Wisconsin and Mississippi and North Carolina write to Florida seeking our experience and method of transposition in Duval County, in connection with our centralization of rural schools during the last six years.

In this county six years ago there were forty-five rural schools of one teacher each, for white children, established by former administrations. The work of these schools was so unsatisfactory in general, and the per capita of expense ran so high in many of them, that the present administration determined to reduce the number to fifteen schools of three teachers each.

A statutory clause of the state provides that school children

must not be required to walk to school more than one mile and a half. Hence, in choosing the sites for the centralized schools, the one having the greatest number of children within a radius of one mile and a half has generally been chosen. Seven of these schools are now in operation, each accommodating the children of about sixty to one hundred square miles of territory. Others will be established as rapidly as funds will permit.

The concentration of the children who live more than one mile and a half from these new schools is accomplished by means of wagonettes, specially designed for the purpose, and provided by the Board of Public Instruction at the public expense. They are of such capacity as to carry eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty pupils, respectively, and cost from seventy to one hundred dollars each. Last year twenty-seven of these comfortable vehicles were running at an average cost of \$23.33 1-3. These twenty-seven conveyances enabled us to close twenty-four of the old one-teacher schools, the current cost of which had previously been forty-five dollars and fifty cents per month for each. Hence, our transportation system now in operation produces a current saving of four hundred and sixty-two dollars per month over the old method. This gross saving was reduced by two hundred and twenty-five dollars, the increase in salaries for assistant teachers at the centralized schools, and there was still left a net saving of two hundred and thirty-seven dollars per month. During a single term of eight months this net saving amounts almost to the entire cost of the twenty-seven wagons, and, since the life of a well-made wagon is about five years, four-fifths of this saving can be devoted to the extension of the new system and to better facilities for teaching. Therefore, even in a financial way, centralization in Duval County, Florida, is a decided success.

Professionally there seems to be nothing objectionable, and of the many advantages the following are the more important:

1. The teachers' work is so well organized that the average recitation period is doubled.
2. The effort of the teacher is made more effective by means of a more adequate equipment.
3. Truancy is wholly eliminated. The health of the pupils is preserved against bad weather and worse roads, but especially from the impure drinking water of former days.

4. Many children, formerly so isolated as never to have access to any school, are now accommodated, to the advantage of the system financially.

5. Local prejudice and family feuds are so completely submerged that one or two large families cannot freeze out the teacher.

6. As a sequence to all these favorable conditions, the average attendance is increased 12 1-2 per cent, giving a corresponding increase of school funds from the state.

7. The country maiden may, and does, continue her education, even into the appreciative days of womanhood, without fear of molestation by the ubiquitous tramp or other vagabond.

8. The youth prolongs his school days to the ambitious verging into manhood, because his aspirations for intellectual progress have been encouraged—he has been given time and opportunity to think and to talk.

9. The farmer and his family are becoming more content with their independent, self-sustaining occupation, preferring to have their children educated in these efficient rural schools, where, during the character-forming period of youth, ethical culture is free from the dissipations of social life as manifested in our cities.

10. The development of the art of teaching by young aspirants is more feasible to the superintendent. His efforts at supervision are more frequent and more effective. On his rounds of duty, and at sight of the old, abandoned school-houses, he thinks of Whittier's lines :

"Still sits the school-house by the road,
A ragged beggar, sunning."

Simply sunning, each a moss-covered monument, befitting the raggedest, most beggarly system of rural education ever devised by man, and an appropriate epitaph on each would be, "Now departed, but not lamented."

THE UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH

By PROFESSOR EDWIN MIMS, of Trinity College, Durham, N. C.

Many Southern people, even leaders in educational work, are ignorant of the men and movements connected with the solution of these problems, while Northern men are as ignorant of them as they are of many other phases of Southern life. A fight just as difficult, just as strenuous, as that in favor of elementary rural education is now being waged by other leaders in behalf of higher standards of admission and graduation and increased endowments and equipments. No one who has been at the heart of this movement for universal education can fail to be in deepest sympathy with it, but unless the leaders of higher education are just as enthusiastic and wise and patient as the members of the Southern Education Board, they will leave very pressing problems unsolved. The rebuilding of old commonwealths is to go on not only in the rural schools, but in the libraries, laboratories and lecture rooms of Southern colleges and universities.

The organization to which has been entrusted the working out of many of the problems of colleges and secondary schools is the Southern Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, organized in Atlanta in 1895. Realizing that the South has suffered from a lack of a properly correlated educational system, the members of this organization have endeavored to define more accurately the work of school, college and university. To that end they have insisted on definite and rigidly enforced requirements for admission and graduation—requirements approximating those that now prevail in the best Northern institutions. This association has had to work in the face of strong opposition on the part of not only colleges of low rank, but colleges and universities that have comparatively large endowments and equipments, but have not developed an educational conscience with regard either to admission or graduation. College presidents, instead of being educational experts, thoroughly familiar with the most recent educational progress, have thought that enthusiasm for the masses might atone for the serious neglect of the more technical, but none the less important, phases of higher education.

That this movement is to-day as successful as it is, is due primarily to the untiring patience and wisdom of Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt University, who for ten years in his own institution and among the other institutions of the South has stood for the highest ideals of educational work. He and others like him have appropriated the best results attained in other sections of the country by similar organizations.

Public sentiment is growing in the South in the direction of an insistence on the demands made of a modern well-equipped college. Men are beginning to see that endowments and libraries and laboratories are absolutely essential for the development of scholarly work, and are endeavoring to thwart those institutions of learning that have perpetrated frauds upon the public in the name of education. I have often regretted that Garfield said what he did about Mark Hopkins and the log, for the remark has done valiant service in the South and West for the maintenance of colleges and universities which had no right by the common standards of honesty to exist. The members of the Southern Education Board have turned the light of publicity upon the country schools; men are also turning the light on colleges, and finding that many of them are unworthy of the names they bear. The cry of consolidation of schools has been raised; we need also to work towards the consolidation or abolition of colleges. Let us not in our efforts to secure the adoption of local taxation as a fundamental principle of American democracy forget to urge upon state legislatures the prime necessity of allowing state institutions the best possible chance for the pursuit of scholarly ends, nor in our enthusiasm over the recent remarkable gifts for school purposes fail to appreciate the men, some of them Southerners, who are making possible the endowment of colleges and the proper equipment of libraries and laboratories. There are fewer people in the South than ever before who believe that because North Carolina or Ohio has more colleges than Massachusetts, they are for that reason the more fortunate.

Out of this demand for proper educational standards and facilities is coming a new sense of the dignity and worth of scholarship. When the University of Virginia was organized, Thomas Jefferson induced five English scholars to become members of its faculty because of the lack of scholars in this country. The time has been in the South when there was almost a necessity for Northern men

to fill chairs of instruction, but in recent years more and more Southern men of first-rate talent have been preparing themselves in the best universities of this country and of Europe for the highest grade of work. A few years ago a good many of these brighter men went to Northern institutions, where they might have larger resources with which to work, but now, as endowments and libraries and laboratories are increasing, a constantly increasing number of them are not only content but eager to work in Southern institutions, because they see here an opportunity of doing permanent work in the rejuvenation and reconstruction of Southern life. Their names are not known by many people, they are not in the public eye, but within the next decade the achievements of this band of scholars who are working in the name of truth for the widening of the horizons of human knowledge will be seen.

With the advance of scholarship in the South, and with the scholar's recognition of his place in a democratic order, there have come and will come more and more freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Scholars—an increasing number, let us hope—are bringing to bear upon Southern life the influence of modern ideas and insisting on open-mindedness and cosmopolitanism as the prime virtues of a progressive people. Teachers of literature are bringing young men into a larger world of thought—"an ampler ether, a diviner air"—striving to put them in touch with the best revelations of genius and the artistic record of their race. Teachers of history, with scientific accuracy and yet a vital feeling for the past, are bringing to us the experience of the world as a guide for our future life, and are writing the history of this section, not according to the demands of sentiment, but with the accuracy of truth. Teachers of political and social science are giving due interpretation to the new industrial order now so manifest, and are bringing to the new social problems engendered thereby the best results of the experiences of England and the North. Teachers of science—technical and theoretical—are making us familiar with scientific principles and methods, and are bringing into our thought those truths that have revolutionized modern philosophy. Teachers of Biblical literature, loyal to the essential truth of the old faith, are yet brave enough to accept truth from whatever source it may come and to abide by the truth wherever it may lead.

Such scholars cannot do their work without exciting opposition

and prejudice. The question of academic freedom is a live question here, as elsewhere in the country. More than many have realized, freedom of speech has won its place in the best Southern institutions. Professor Trent was attacked severely by some Southern newspapers and public men for his life of William Gilmore Simms and his "Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime," but the University of the South was thoroughly loyal to him, while men in other institutions rallied about him. Professor Houston was attacked for certain opinions on the money question, but he is to-day at the head of a leading institution in Texas, and highly honored throughout the South. The recent forced resignation of Professor Sledd would not have taken place in some Southern institutions with which I am familiar, whose faculties unhesitatingly condemned the action of the Emory College trustees. A book containing the addresses of a dozen of the most prominent presidents and professors of Southern colleges would be a surprise to the academic circles of the North that have not watched closely the development of the most recent phases of Southern life. The *Sewanee Review* (published at the University of the South), that has just completed ten years' successful history, and the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (published at Trinity College), now in its second year, have given notable expressions to the most thoughtful opinions of Southern scholars.

While giving due attention to these unmistakable evidences of increasing freedom and cosmopolitanism, I would not minimize the struggle yet to be made before they shall be generally recognized and established. Unfortunately, many leaders of educational work are flatterers, rather than leaders, of the people, and so stand in the way of genuine progress. I have heard more than one president of prominent Southern institutions make light of men who were independent in their thought and free in their utterance. Tradition, conservatism, bigotry, prejudice, here as elsewhere, must stand in the way of the children of light. The independent in politics, the liberal in religion, will have no easy time. In the South, least of all, should the scholar be dumb, or the institution of learning hide its light under a bushel. The Southern college needs to become a more vital factor in the life of the people; not timid or overcautious, but brave, even as those who love truth and are the friends of progress. You cannot write the history of modern Germany without recording the heroic work of German scholars. The story of the renaissance

of New England is but half told when Harvard College is omitted. In the industrial, educational and intellectual progress of the Southern states the colleges that will deserve most consideration from the future historian are those that will at the present time become the leaders and the inspirers of the people.

If we shall meet all Southern problems and national problems with the same spirit that has characterized the Annual Conference for Education in the South, if we can bring to them the same national spirit, the same magnanimity, the same open-mindedness, we shall see the coming of a great day in Southern life. No one can have too high a hope of what may be achieved within the next quarter of a century. Freed from the limitations that have so long hampered us, and buoyant with the energy of a new life coursing through our veins, we shall press forward to the destiny that awaits us. If, to the sentiment, the chivalry, and the hospitality that have characterized Southern life, shall be added the intellectual keenness, the spiritual sensitiveness, and the enlarged freedom of the modern world, the time is not far off when scholarship, literature, and art shall flourish among us, and when all things that make for the intellectual and spiritual emancipation of man shall find their fit home here.

NEEDS OF THE NEW SOUTH

By DR. LYMAN HALL, President of Georgia Institute of Technology,
Atlanta, Ga.

A prominent American said not long ago that a dollar was the most productive thing in the world. It is needless to say that he was a disciple of that doctrine which has given the dollar an adjective applied to only the King of kings, the *almighty* dollar, "greater than all things visible and invisible," immeasurable in quantity of results, infinite in accomplishment. But there is a fatal defect in the omnipotence of the dollar. It is material, and being material it is subject to the physical law of material things, action and reaction. The dollar on the stock exchange which makes a fortune to-day for Mr. Smith loses the same fortune for Mr. Jones, and when the sun goes down, there is no increase in assets. The happiness on the credit side of the exchange is offset by the misery on the debit side.

The most productive thing in the world, in fact, is not a dollar, or two dollars, or a million dollars; but it is something which is not material, it is the germ of that power which moves ships and trains, navies and armies, which builds empires and populates continents where formerly reigned only desolation and savage beasts and men; it is something which gives no promise in appearance of its possibilities, but it is alive and bristling with energy and horsepower; *it is a boy, and above all an American boy.*

In this connection it is well to come to the point of my subject and emphasize the needs of the New South. The New South? Why so called? Fifteen years ago a machine shop and foundry between Georgia and Alabama could not secure workmen or apprentices at more than living wages. The proprietor sent his son to the School of Technology in Atlanta, the young man went home, donned his overalls, and went to work in his father's shop. Since that time he has been able to employ any boy in the county at fifty cents a day. That county was regenerated in its ideas.

Twenty-five years ago it was impossible for a young man to wear overalls in the day and a dress suit in the evening. No such

false pride exists to-day. It is the desire of 100,000 young men in the South to become workers in mines, in factories, in mills. They realize the boundless resources of their section and are filled with ambition to perform great deeds in industry and progress. These facts give the cause for the name "New South."

The vast manufacturing interests of our cities, the application of scientific principles, the establishment of great power plants, the working of mines, the development of every natural resource with mechanical appliances, demand men—staunch, sturdy, powerful, workingmen—men who not only have the strength to do, but have the intelligence and training to do what is wisest and best.

Have we such men? No. Have we the facilities for training such men? No. These answers come from the shops, mills, power plants, and manufactories which are rising like magic in every Southern state. The future with its increasing markets, its tropical trade, its Panama Canal, its demand for manufactured articles from every shore touched by the waters of the Pacific, gives prophecy of still greater demands. Are the colleges and schools in the South adequately responding to the demand for such men? Not at all. In my state we are making ten professional men—lawyers, doctors, authors, teachers, statesmen if you will—where we are making one technically trained expert.

Not one blemish would I place on the fair names and splendid work of those universities and classical schools which are cherished in every state in the Southland, and from whose walls have come men renowned at home and abroad. But I would say to them, turn some of your influence and force towards the supplying of a great demand which we cannot meet. Such a course would not reflect upon your dignity nor tarnish your prestige. An eminent German scientist, on being asked how he would establish a great university, replied: "If I had sufficient means, I would equip some laboratories; if the money held out, I would erect some buildings; if there was still some money left, I would employ some professors."

The greatest boon which could come to the South to-day would be the establishment of shops and laboratories in every school and college from Pennsylvania to New Mexico. Even then the supply would not begin to approach the demand. During the month of April I have had at least ten applications for young men who knew something about boilers, or electricity, or mills. Three applications

came in one day for draughtsmen, at almost any price. To take a specimen application, the writer of which has evidently tried in vain for what he wants:

"DEAR SIR:—I am looking for a technical graduate to make himself generally useful to me, chiefly in experimental work and patent drawings. I really want to put him into training to become our factory superintendent, but it is probably not best to tell him so at first. Pay will be \$100.00 per month to start, but the specifications are not exacting. I want my man to know a lot of things. He must know how to get along with employes. He must have a natural inborn tendency to order, system and discipline, and he must have that mysterious quality 'accomplishfulness.' The ability to get through with work. The habit of despatch. He must also furnish his own 'push,' his own E. M. F. There are a good many men who are like Josiah Allen's dog. He said the dog was all right to chase cows, if you only ran on a little ahead to encourage him. This is not the kind of a dog or man I want. I *really* want (but do not expect to find him this side of St. Peter) a man who will run on ahead and encourage *me*. I believe in heredity, too, and I want the son of a mechanic. A young fellow who has been brought up in the brass belt of Connecticut would do. We are going into several new lines. Responsibility will come as fast as the young man can digest it, probably faster. Can you recommend anybody as approximating the specifications?"

The fact, then, needs no demonstration, that the facilities for turning out engineers, technical experts, etc., are inadequate. The remedy is the establishment of courses in engineering in every college, in every university. Yes, do more than establish the course, advertise it; make it as popular with the undergraduate as the classics. I have known of a college, having three hundred students, giving courses to two students in agriculture and a dozen in engineering. In such cases something is the matter with the engineering and agriculture, or, perhaps, with a false sentiment existing against them, the students are not to blame for such a condition. This would be a great advance in the higher education mostly needed in this section, and would be accelerated with experience.

But this would benefit the college boy only; it would not have an influence on the great majority of boys who are here now and who will continue to come, an innumerable host, eager to learn, willing to work, provided for in the common schools only, then brought face to face with the fact that many of us have had to face desperately, namely, self-preservation, or making a living.

It is almost an axiom that the boy who is poor to-day will be the influential factor in affairs of every description twenty-five years

in the future. If he has that advantage from his environment without opportunity, how much greater will be his advantage with ample opportunity? There will be more of him, more in him.

There should be established in every congressional district in the South a trade school for the practical instruction of boys from 14 to 18 years of age, in the ordinary trades and the particular arts and industries which flourish in his section. Such schools would be almost, if not quite, self-supporting, from the natural output of products. From such schools would pour a continuous stream of skilled workmen and artisans, in all the arts and trades, who could demand a minimum wage of \$2.50 per day. The fields of light employment offer little or no inducement. Women have come forward as assistants and employes in every branch of business, at a smaller salary than married men can afford to work for. And the boy of seventeen who cannot go to college or technical school, who has had no training for special work, is forced into the field of unskilled labor, and only the select may obtain employment on the street railways, the police force, and the fire department, at much smaller wages than the skilled workmen can command.

The trade schools should come quickly and must come. It will be an innovation with us. I do not believe there is a school in the South where a white boy can learn bricklaying, or plumbing, furniture making, or practical manufacturing in wood and metal, and clay, on a practical commercial basis. Our technical schools are sending out a few leaders—superintendents, scientists—who are not to form the rank and file of skilled labor. But the colored race is meeting this problem with abundant means, had for the asking. Their industrial schools are making skilled workmen who command good wages, and who are turned from employment by no false sentiment, by no prejudice. These schools are increasing in number and size. When the colored race all become skilled bricklayers, somebody will have to carry the mortar. When they all become plumbers, who are going to be the helpers, the men who carry the tools? When they become scientific farmers, who are going to be the laborers? We Southerners, we Southern whites? No. We have settled that question long ago, but, unless we have trade and industrial schools, our boys will have to carry the mortar for somebody, even if they have to emigrate to do it.

But I make no prophecy of ill-omen. Pointing at the spectre

does not imply embracing it or acknowledging its supremacy. The Southern people will, I feel sure, meet the issues which are forced upon them. They will provide for their sons in due season. And while some philanthropy fails to find its way here, unless there is something to give color to the question, our state government, our legislatures (and the General Education Board seems to be following the pathway blazed by our own people), bestowing benefits upon the white boy of the South, and at the same time lending a helping hand to the weaker race, will surely prepare means for their own sons for the preservation of the prestige of their inheritance, for the great destiny which beckons them to prepare for future conflicts in commerce, in science, in skill, and in art, with the greatest nations of the earth.

THE CONFERENCE FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

By the President of the Conference, ROBERT C. OGDEN, New York City

Originally, membership in the Conference for Education in the South was limited to the list of guests invited to share the hospitality of Captain Sale, at Capon Springs, West Virginia. The only present qualifications needed by a delegate consist in personal presence and sympathetic accord. Thus the Conference is a purely voluntary association. It has had a healthful and continuous growth without a constitution, and has thus proven its ideal nature, human temper and intellectual quality. It has illustrated the possibilities of the brotherhood of man by electing executive officers and committees with no by-laws to restrict, with perfect freedom for unlimited overwork, and the right—by appeals to altruism, to patriotism, or fear—to impress into the service of the Conference all whose assistance may be required.

By this gentle brigandage the Conference has lived and moved and had its being. Cordially appropriating the generous hospitality of locality after locality, piling boundless cares upon local committees, placing upon its chief officers responsibilities broad as the tenderness of conscience or capacity for initiative; trusting as the birds trust the hand that providentially feeds them, a treasurer without an exchequer; appropriating for the use of the executive committee the whole American republic of letters that a proper program should annually be presented—the Conference has gone forward from grace to grace, and from strength to strength.

Quite likely the inorganic character of the Conference has inspired the expression of doubt concerning its serious purpose. Intimations have not been wanting that it is only a junketing affair, a sort of fad which the imaginations of certain very good people have translated into a supposed vitality and force, a solemn fancy that affords a sober excuse for an affair primarily social, incidentally educational. Suggestions of this nature originate quite beyond the circle that have personal knowledge of the facts. Certainly the social environment of the successive meetings has been important and useful, as it has been delightful, yet it is completely subordinate and incidental.

Nevertheless, the inquiry is legitimate: "What is the theory of the Conference?" The reply is clear and sharply defined: "The Conference exists for the advancement and promotion of the education of all the people." A brief analysis of the elements of the Conference may clarify this answer.

All are perfectly familiar with the sovereign demands—material, intellectual, spiritual—of educational interests. Executive combinations of many sorts—land, buildings, taxation, legislation, systems, methods—are under requisition for the service. Its infinite details increasingly enlist the unremitting toil of hundreds of thousands of painstaking teachers, men and women, representing every grade of instruction from the simplest to the most abstruse.

For the moment, in the centre and foreground of this vast perspective, stands the Conference—a composite aggregation of men and women, interesting because so varied in its personnel.

Some are profoundly ignorant of the technicalities of education, quite unfamiliar by personal knowledge with even the recitation rooms or the methods of contemporary school life. Others are within the sacred fraternity of teachers, and in the group may be found representatives of every rank in the teaching profession. Still others are charged with the official responsibility of educational management on behalf of the state or corporate bodies. But all are with one accord in one place—officials and citizens, professionals and laity—by reason of a common belief in the beneficent power of education, and because each distinct element is essential to the spirit that must vitalize the Conference.

So much for the personnel.

The solvent, the fusing power that creates the common point of contact, is the belief, perceived in varying degrees by all present, that the great social duty of our age is the saving of society and, further, that the salvation of society begins with the saving of the child. Without faith in the moral progress of the world we are hopeless indeed. This progress begins with the little child, and therefore, in a very liberal sense, we are to-day under the leadership* of childhood. From the kindergarten of to-day to the university of to-morrow is, as the years go by, a very short step.

At this time no apology is needed for the claims that the saving of society, the progressive betterment of humanity, is demanded by Divine authority, manifested through the living pur-

pose clearly revealed in Holy Writ, providential guidance and human consciousness. Neither should excuse be asked for insistence that a clear, definite and exacting special demand is made upon every man and woman for personal service—self-sacrificing, devoted—in all things having to do with the creation and promotion of human knowledge as a means of human happiness.

So much for the moral inspiration of the Conference.

Continuing the inquiry a step further, we notice that, from the foundation of our government until now, ringing out with true tone and clarion voice, rising resonant and distinct above the clamor of politics—above the loud barking of the dogs of war, above the harsh controversies concerning the nature of the national federation, above the strident debates upon the ethics of domestic institutions—the note of democracy in catholic unison has ever resounded dominant and universal. Democracy is a national intuition, the fundamental political doctrine of every American worthy of the name, the sacred trust confided to our care and keeping, to be preserved for the healing of the nations through a complete demonstration of its truth upon American soil. Thus, in a very special way, our political institutions unfold an inspired mission that deeply concerns the moral progress of the world. Thus the state should become the universal missionary of a political gospel both at home and abroad.

But a true democracy can only exist through the fidelity of its citizens. Individualism—cynical, selfish, cold and indifferent—cries out: “Am I my brother’s keeper?” “Who is my neighbor?” A true democracy quickly echoes back: “Thy brother is he that hath need of thee.” “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”

There is a divinity in democracy; in society as in the individual there is personal and organic spiritual life. Witness the restless longing for social service that marks the serious side of present-day life in America. So much for the patriotic inspiration of the Conference.

And thus it has come about that this varied collection of men and women, moved by ethical and patriotic incentives, have come from remote localities that they may be mutually instructed and inspired in a conference based upon the common belief that the general education of all the people is essential to the salvation of society; that without general education, progress in the arts, in

the diffusion of happiness, in the things that make for good character, family peace, clean living, human brotherhood, civic righteousness and national justice is impossible. In the atmosphere of a common human sympathy the Conference for Education in the South lives and moves and has its being.

The concrete reply concerning the theory of the Conference is short and simple. It is a diminutive spiritual democracy—a sympathetic association of those who believe in the civic and constructive value of the policy of universal education. It exists for the cultivation of the higher inspiration that underlies all social development. It firmly believes that successful practical effort is the product of sound ethics.

And yet the Conference is not a transcendental body, existing in the assumed superiority of a self-created atmosphere of indefinite and mysterious supremacy. Therefore, as action is the expression of doctrine, as methods are the formulæ of beliefs, so the discussion of practical educational questions naturally affords the means for the cultivation of the true ideal of the Conference.

The province of pedagogy has rarely been touched, never invaded, by the proceedings of the Conference. That great and important side of educational progress is too technical and detailed for the time at command, and, belonging to the strictly professional side of educational administration, could not be profitably considered in a body so generally representative as the Conference. It is therefore naturally eliminated.

There is, however, a vast sphere in which the Conference may now, and for long years to come, find ample scope for thought and discussion.

Legislative action has expressed the will of the people upon many topics that need larger light, public opinion as yet unexpressed in law lengthens the schedule, and individual minds find still other questions in education that may well challenge the consideration of philanthropists, philosophers and statesmen. These fertile sources have supplied the program that the executive committee presents for the guidance of the deliberations.

The absolute need of universal education has the endorsement of the law of each of the United States of America and the conscientious allegiance of all intelligent citizens.

Local taxation for education has the sanction of law in many

states. Negro education is recognized as a part of the public educational system in every state, both South and North. The education of every child in our country is an admitted national duty, and leading minds find in this principle broad ground for a demand that the national government should share with the several states, in proportion to the need, the financial responsibility involved in the discharge of that obligation. The moral accountability of the higher institutions of learning to the cause of popular public education, and the economic value of education to material progress, are great subjects that have the affirmative approval of the highest intelligence.

Within the limitation of its orderly program the Conference is an open forum. Reasoning from previous practice, its function is inspiration by discussion rather than decision. Resolutions have never been its vogue. Its conclusions have been enshrined in individual thought and not voiced in the vote of a majority.

This natural practice is a direct evolution from the underlying circumstances that made the Conference possible. It is deeply interesting to note in this connection that the originators of the Conference did not know the extent of the forces with which they were dealing, nor the greatness of the power they were calling into being. The one all-controlling fact before the minds of the fathers of the Conference was the appalling need of an educational awakening in the rural South. Who that heard will ever forget the graphic utterances of Dr. Curry and President Wilson, of Washington and Lee University, in which, with words hot from well-furnished minds and glowing hearts, they reviewed the causes of educational backwardness and pictured the then existing need? Later there came the comprehensive statistical and descriptive addresses and papers presented to the Conference by members of the Southern Education Board, that gave cumulative testimony to prevailing conditions and needs. So earnest and drastic were these utterances that it would seem ungracious to repeat them now. But the impassioned expressions of these leaders voiced the longing, anxious appeal of many earnest and intelligent men and women that, in the seclusion of remote, obscure and wide-lying communities, had pondered upon the way to improve educational conditions and prayed long and earnestly for the means of relief. A vast amount of the seed of the Kingdom was growing secretly. These were the conditions that awaited the coming of the Conference. At the

beginning it touched only a few of these faithful souls, but now, by its direct action and by other agencies that its spirit has called into being, the fellowship is increasing and bringing forth abundant fruit.

The intrusion of disagreement into a domain of thought and sentiment so vast and so sacred would seem to be sacrilege. Thus the natural life of the Conference has been that of unity and agreement. The standing ground of common need is so broad, the truly vital point so evident and so eminent, as to forbid discussion; points of difference are so minor and inconsequent that perfect accord has been natural—any other condition would be contradictory to the best humanity here in conference assembled.

It is fundamentally impossible to hold the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board officially responsible for this Conference. In a full and complete sense they are only accountable to the donors of the money by which they are supported. In a very broad and positive sense they are responsible for their action to intelligent public opinion. In a sentimental and sympathetic sense they are so interesting to the Conference that this discussion demands reference to them, and the paper would be incomplete without some account of their doings. And yet it should be positively understood and insisted upon, until the interested public comes fully to understand, that the Conference and the boards are absolutely and entirely distinct.

The Southern Education Board carries on a crusade for education. Its organization is comprehensive and actively covers the larger part of the country from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, from the Ohio to the Gulf. Its large expenses are privately defrayed. The General Education Board administers such funds as may come to it for the assistance of education. In this connection they cannot be considered separately—their work is a unit; they are the halves of a complete sphere; they are interdependent, subjectively and objectively. Seven men are members in both boards.

At the office of the General Education Board in New York, under the direction of Dr. Buttrick, a vast amount of information is being accumulated and tabulated concerning schools and educational institutions in the various states covered by the operations of the boards. From the bureau of information, under the direc-

tion of Dr. Dabney, at Knoxville, Tennessee, a great mass of popular and statistical literature has been circulated to the newspaper press and to individuals. Assistance has been extended to various schools and institutions, divided nearly equally between the races. Various summer schools for teachers have been encouraged and assisted, none entirely supported. Certain counties in several states have been encouraged to improve the public schools by subscription and local taxation, by the duplication of funds thus raised by the General Education Board. These experiments display the possibilities of self-help. State conferences of county superintendents of education have been held, with highly satisfactory results, in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Louisiana. Others will follow, and probably the usefulness of the system will warrant its continuance.

It is also needful to remember that the Conference is essentially in control of the Southern delegates, and that such Northern official representation as exists has been in obedience to the unanimous demand of the Conference. In harmony with this feature of the Conference, all the members of the campaign committee, composed of the several district and bureau directors, of the Southern Education Board, are residents of Southern states. In addition, nine other prominent Southern men are representing the boards in various forms of activity.

We are a proud people. The vast resources, growth of wealth, increase of population, achievements of enterprise, tremendous material strides forward witnessed by recent years, appeal to the imagination with overwhelming force, and we are dazzled by the brilliance of the pageant as we are confused by its incomprehensible magnitude. I freely admit the blessings of commercialism and recognize, with a good, healthful spirit, that trade is the vanguard of civilization and the ally of education.

We are, indeed, a proud people. We boast of our civilization. We are vain of our national achievements in science, literature, the fine arts, education, philanthropy and social progress. There is an aristocracy of intellect and culture, as of money, and, in it all, self is the object of highest worship.

We should be an humble people. Are the wily arts of the demagogue, North or South, who finds in prejudice, produced by ignorance, the opportunity to serve himself through the triumph of that

which is false, a subject of pride? Is the prevalence of provincialism, urban or metropolitan (the latter the greater), which narrows the view to things local and selfish, a subject of pride? Is the heredity of ignorance, that transmits its baleful and growing blight from generation to generation, a subject of pride? Is the failure of law, North or South, to punish crime and the freedom of the criminal to prey upon society, a subject of pride? Is the arrogance and indifference of wealth to human need a subject of pride?

When we look fairly at the under side of things, with a good, honest purpose to know the truth, does not all our pride melt away, and does it not seem that, instead of boasting of our exalted civilization, we should confess with humiliation that we are just emerging from barbarism?

The Conference primarily owes its existence to a great class who have heard and obeyed the call to personal service. In the beginning it earnestly extended sympathy to teachers of every degree, and quickly came back a loyal response. From then until now the blessed tie that binds has been strengthened, and the reflex atmosphere of appreciation has encouraged the men and women from various other walks of life to remain in association with the Conference. But without the help of the teachers it would long since have expired.

Encouragement has also come from educational officials. The Conference and the boards have been in most delightful harmony with the governors of states, superintendents of education of states and cities, presidents of universities and colleges and trustees of many institutions. Thus the influences have been reciprocal and twice blessed.

It is a source of deep regret to me that I cannot present a full, graphic and complete picture of what has been doing in many and various fields of educational influence by the various agencies to which allusion has already been made. In some quarters there has been an impression that the Conference is a distributor of money, and people have come from distant points to present claims only to meet with disappointment. But, as a matter of fact, the Conference treasury is merely a vacancy, a figment of the imagination. The Southern Education Board is costly because its plans are large, but it is a dependent without a dollar of margin over its executive expense roll. The General Education

Board has had some money to use for the moderate encouragement of people and institutions to self-help. This partial repetition is made only to emphasize the fact that the great objective is the arousing of interest among all the people for the education of the children. And splendid have been some of the results. In certain states it has been a great awakening like an intellectual tidal wave, but, unlike such a wave, it will not recede leaving desolation in its track. In many states during the last year education has been the successful rival of politics in commanding public attention, and the same has been true of certain countries and neighborhoods that have taken independent and local action.

In some places it has been a single earnest person; in others, the representatives of the boards, in others, state officials, in others, the combination of all these forces operating in different ways towards the same end. Despondency comes sometimes when the great gulf between need and relief is contemplated, but courage rises with a view of things accomplished.

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN ALABAMA¹

By HON. JOSEPH B. GRAHAM, Alabama State Attorney

In May of 1902 an informal conference of leading educators in Alabama was held for the purpose of meeting the representatives of the General and Southern Education Boards, Dr. Wallace Buttrick and Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy. The purposes and plans of the board were made known at that conference and most cordially endorsed by the teachers. Beginning with June the writer made a three months' campaign in various sections of the states, attending commencements where an opportunity might be afforded to talk to the people for the local support of better schools and better qualified teachers, to be better paid. The writer devotes about six months of his time to his duties as prosecuting officer in one of the judicial circles, composed of six counties of the state of Alabama, the rest of the time being given to the work of the Southern Education Board. This recalls that the first day of circuit court in a rural county in Alabama is a great day, when citizens from every section of the county come up to the county seat, some as jurors, witnesses and litigants, some to swap horses and tobacco, but many just to greet friends, talk politics and to get and distribute the news in general. These first days have been used largely by the office-seekers and politicians for getting office and promoting patriotism (?). I have endeavored to utilize these occasions in talking of good schools, sounder morals, and higher and purer aims; and, if I mistake not the sentiment of the people, I believe that they appreciate the change.

I have visited twenty-two counties, and have delivered from one to four addresses in each county within the eleven months of my service. My work and speeches have been along the line of stimulating the people to self-reliance and to the local support of their schools, looking ultimately to free public schools supported by local taxation with the district as the unit. In my opinion every dollar, the giving of which is felt and is to some extent a sacrifice upon the part of the person making the contribution, whether vol-

¹ EDITORIAL NOTE.—Probably no educational workers in the country are so familiar with the details of conditions in the Southern school system as the special field agents who have been appointed by the Southern Education Board to conduct its campaign. By the courtesy of the Board a number of these reports are here printed in condensed form.

untary or under form of law, consecrated to the cause of public education, is worth more to the contributor and to the growth of genuine patriotism than a hundred dollars which may come unmerited or unappreciated, or from misdirected philanthropy.

As an instance of the interest of our rural population in our educational progress, and of the character of my field work, I recall one day in July during the severe drouth which almost destroyed the cotton and corn crops of Alabama last year. It was in a mountain county about twenty-five miles from a railroad. There was an all-day educational rally, with an abundance of substantial "dinner on the ground," notwithstanding the blight then resting on the burning, thirsty fields. The people came in great numbers from the surrounding country. Many walked, some rode in good buggies and surreys; but many families of from three to twelve persons came in plain farm wagons with straw-covered beds, chairs from the fireside as seats, drawn by a yoke of oxen. Many of them were clad in home-woven jeans and cotton; most of them wore shoes, but some, even adults, were barefooted; but all were happy and cheerful and welcomed visiting speakers most cordially. Many speeches were made during the day along educational lines, and the young and old seemed to be inspired to do and hope for better things for the youth of the land. I went the same afternoon to another place ten miles distant, where a protracted meeting was in progress. They were having morning service at 11 o'clock and evening service at 7.30. They heard of my visit and the evening sermon was delivered at "early candlelight," 6.30 o'clock, and everything was in readiness for me at 8 p. m.

The speeches made by two other visitors and myself had earnest attention for more than two hours, and they were so pitched along the line of close relation of home, school and church, and of intelligence, morals and religion, that even the hesitating preacher declared to his congregation just before the benediction that they had just heard the best sermons of the revival.

On the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of January we held a conference of county superintendents in Montgomery. Of the sixty-six superintendents in the state, sixty were in attendance and five were providentially detained at home. The Alabama legislature was in session, and almost every member was in attendance at the two great mass-meetings held in the evenings. Many of the

prominent educators and citizens of the state, including the very best citizenship of the capital city, were also present. This conference, for power and widespread influence among educators, citizens and legislators, was far beyond anything in the history of the state, and has brought our best citizenship into thorough sympathy with the work of the two great Education Boards.

We have a new organic law which guarantees the rights and protection of citizenship to all, but restricts the privilege of suffrage to only those who contribute either of their intelligence to the good of society, or of taxes for the material support of the government. Recognizing the power of intelligence as a factor in the creation of wealth, more than one-half of the entire income of the state has been set aside as a trust fund for the education of the youth of the state, and the legislature is instructed to make additional appropriations when the revenues and collections shall justify.

For the first time in the history of our commonwealth, the principle and privilege of local taxation for public school purposes are recognized in the organic law. It is true that the unit is the county and one mill the limit, while the ideal unit is the district and the will of the people the limit, still all must agree that ours is better than no unit and no rate at all. If I mistake not the sentiment of the people in the counties which I have visited, they will vote to levy the one mill tax at the first opportunity.

My future work will be largely in assisting the educational forces in several counties in campaigns for the levying of the one mill tax.

The doctrine of local taxation is becoming popular and is going to win in Alabama, although our public school system has been in existence only about fifty years and has had but small financial support until the past fifteen years. Our rural white schools averaged one hundred and five days and our rural colored schools averaged ninety-three days, free terms, during the last scholastic year.

Be it said to the credit of Alabama, that, although her people are comparatively poor, though she has in common with other Southern states suffered the disasters of war and borne the burdens and sacrifices of reconstruction, and though forty-four per cent of her population belongs to a race which pays but little more than five per cent of the taxes, still our new organic law forbids that dis-

crimination inspired by prejudice which would restrict the educational privileges and rights of a particular class or race according to its contribution in taxes for the support of the government. This equality of benefits did not arise from any cringing fear of federal amendments, but from a spontaneous philanthropy too generous to take advantage of the poor, and a sense of right and humanity too proud to stoop to wrong an inferior race.

In my opinion, the highest and sincerest expression of the principle of fraternity and the most splendid prophecy of the permanence and high standard of our future civilization are to be found at one and the same time in the willingness of the people, through honest government, to make liberal contribution for free public schools for the education of all the people.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN TENNESSEE

By DR. CHARLES W. DABNEY, President of the University of Tennessee.

The relation of school funds to population in Tennessee is most instructive. The annual appropriation for public schools is 46 cents on each \$100 of taxable property reported and 86 cents per caput of total population. Figures for some other states are given for comparison: Missouri, 42 cents and \$2.50; Minnesota, 59 cents and \$3.20; Nebraska, \$2.32 and \$4.12; Colorado, \$1.05 and \$5.18; California, 58 cents and \$4.65; New York, 60 cents and \$4.60; Illinois, \$2.08 and \$3.68. It will be seen that these states pay much more for their schools in proportion to their taxable wealth and several times more in proportion to their population than does Tennessee.

The amount expended for schools per caput for children between the ages of five and twenty is in Tennessee \$2.32; in Kentucky, \$2.32; Texas, \$3.63; Minnesota, \$8.63; Michigan, \$8.90; Ohio, \$9.94; New York, \$10.91; Colorado, \$11.11; California, \$16.44; Massachusetts, \$17.79. Massachusetts pays thus nearly eight times as much for the common school education of each of her children as does Tennessee.

An important factor is the amount of taxable property per caput of school children. For each child between the ages of five and twenty years there is in Tennessee \$509 of taxable property, in North Carolina \$337, in Georgia \$516, but in Iowa it is \$714, in Missouri \$1,982, in Michigan \$1,996, in New York \$2,661.

Probably our friends in the North do not properly appreciate the difficulties and burdens resulting from our double system of schools. An average county in Tennessee has, for instance, twenty-five school children to the square mile, fifteen white and ten colored, making practically two counties, each having a small population. Consolidation is thus more necessary in the South than anywhere else.

In conclusion, a few things which seem most needed in our work should be mentioned.

1. Men and money to do more missionary work among poorer and more isolated populations. The people in one-half of the

counties of the South are probably not able to support any kind of a decent school, even if they knew how to do so. They must first be taught the farm and household arts, how to cultivate the soil properly, how to utilize their forest and other resources and so to make money with which to maintain their schools. In that great territory covering the Appalachian region, reaching from Virginia to Alabama, there is a great population of healthy, vigorous and noble people, our brothers in blood, or "our contemporary ancestors," as President Frost has so aptly called them, which this board has scarcely touched. In the mountain counties of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama there are already, out of one million white males twenty-one years of age, nearly two hundred thousand who cannot read and write. The people of the better counties east and west of the mountains have all they can do for a generation or more to develop their own schools. The burning question is, shall we permit another generation of these mountain boys and girls to grow up in ignorance? Probably we cannot do much for the people of this generation, but because we must let them pass away, shall we let another generation grow up in poverty and ignorance? These are our brethren, fellow-citizens of these states and of the great republic. The appeal is therefore to the whole nation. How dare we permit so large a portion of our fellow-citizens to live any longer under these conditions?

2. There are needed a few model consolidated industrial schools scattered over the South. Our people do not know what a good country school is; they have no ideals towards which to work. If there were even three or four such schools in each state, properly located, where superintendents and directors could visit them, they would, we believe, multiply themselves very rapidly.

3. Teachers for the schools. There are almost no professional teachers in the country schools. There must be normal schools for elementary teachers; several of them in each state to train country boys and girls to be teachers in the rural schools.

4. Superintendents, men competent to direct educational work, to organize and administer schools, educational engineers of all grades and classes, are greatly needed, as well as principals of schools and supervisors of technical and industrial education, manual training, domestic science and art and the other newer branches. The greatest need of the South after all is a great teachers' college,

which shall educate and train the men and women who are to be the leaders in this work and the directors in the Southern schools of the future.

The time is come for constructive work, and we must educate the men to do it.

We must recognize the present wretched condition of our schools and the great difficulties resulting from our poverty and sparse population, but let us recognize also the advantages of having a field clear of the rubbish of false systems, of a great country of excellent natural resources and filled with a race of men who have never yet failed to build great, splendid institutions when they got ready to the task. Let us take courage from this great awakening and look forward hopefully to the time, which is surely coming, when the South shall have such a system of schools that our Northern friends will have to come down South to learn how to organize the modern school, and when we shall be making peaceful invasions into the North and helping them hold conferences of education for the improvement of their schools.

THE SOUTHWESTERN FIELD

By DR. EDWIN A. ALDERMAN,¹ President Tulane University, New Orleans,
Louisiana

In the Southwestern field our great purpose has been to arouse an irresistible public opinion for the establishment and maintenance of a system of schools adequate for the needs of a free people. When that is aroused, the thing is done, and the problem assumes another phase—the scientific phase.

The first achievement of this public opinion will be the appropriation of sufficient money for such schools. This money may be obtained by state appropriation, by local taxation and community effort, and by appropriation of unexpended balances by parish and county boards. A parallel achievement will be the consolidation of weak schools into strong central schools and the hauling of children to these central schools.

It is believed that better schoolhouses, the trained teacher and all other blessings will follow in the wake of these achievements. Much has been accomplished in these directions by devoted men in the southwestern field during the last twenty years, but each new generation must fight for its life and for the life of the generation to come.

The activities of the Southern Education Board during the past summer were expended upon summer schools at Lafayette and Lake Charles, La., and the general purposes of the board were understood and promulgated in the two schools at Monroe and Ruston. President Caldwell, of the State Normal School, and Superintendent Calhoun were intelligently fruitful and active throughout the whole state, and too much credit cannot be accorded them. Professors Dillard, Himes, Aswell and Showalter, in addition to their regular duties in these schools, made it their business to preach the need for greater educational facilities throughout the state. An intensive campaign was conducted in the parish of Calcasieu by Professor Himes, of the Louisiana State University. In this great parish,

¹Special Agent Southern Education Board.

which contains a population of 35,000 people, thirty meetings were held and seventy addresses delivered. As a result of this activity, one ward voted outright a special tax of three mills and five others have voted the five-mill tax, amounting to a total of \$15,000. Perhaps the best result of this single parish campaign was the revelation to the whole state of the possibilities of this great work and the revelation to all the other parishes of the good that can come to them by co-operation with these boards.

The most notable events of the fall months in Louisiana were two great meetings, one for the white people and one for the negro people. The meeting of the parish superintendents of the state was held in New Orleans under the general direction of Dr. Wallace Buttrick, general agent of the General Education Board. It was attended by all of the superintendents of the state and was fruitful in practical suggestions and stimulation. The most distinct value of the meeting was the impulse given to the idea of consolidation of schools. Extensive consolidation has occurred in the parishes of Lafayette, Ascension, and Sabine, and it is proposed to consolidate eighteen districts in Iberia parish and to establish a central school from which no child will be distant more than ten miles.

The next great meeting was one for the colored race and was attended by the leading teachers and citizens of the negro race from all over the state. It was held in New Orleans in October and was under the general direction of Principal Booker T. Washington. The address of Principal Washington was characterized by his usual patriotic common sense and earnestness, and meant a good deal in the moulding of public opinion in the minds of the white race and fixing rational ideals in the minds of the colored race.

Conditions are now thoroughly promising for a fruitful campaign in the State of Louisiana. The movement is now a genuine, whole-hearted movement, and the next three months will be months of real achievement in this work. That this is so we are indebted to the governor of the state, in whose parish of Union a ten-mill tax has been voted, the state superintendent, Hon. J. V. Calhoun, and the leading educators in the colleges and schools of the state.

The central educational campaign committee, consisting of the governor of the state, W. W. Heard; the state superintendent, Hon. J. V. Calhoun; Colonel T. D. Boyd, president of Louisiana State University; President B. C. Caldwell, of the Louisiana State Nor-

mal College, and myself, have appointed Mr. William M. Steele, of the *Picayune*, as executive secretary of that committee. Twenty parishes, carefully selected, have been chosen as the immediate field, sixty-five citizens of Louisiana, including the governor, state superintendent, prominent teachers, state officers, eminent lawyers and business men, have accepted service as campaign speakers. Appointments have been made already at twenty-five points, and the state will have been covered during the summer. The prominent men of the localities concerned, parish school boards and committees of citizens are co-operating with the speakers and school officers.

The opening meetings of this campaign were held at Broussard and Carencro of April 5 and 11. The addresses were made by Governor Heard, President Caldwell, and Professor Fortier, who spoke in French, French being the language that gives them the impulse to vote more than English. These meetings were attended by 1,900 people. Nearly every one present signed a petition for a three-mill tax, and this means the undoubted success of the movement.

A call has been issued for a conference of the presidents of the parish boards of education and of the police juries, who are men of force and influence. This conference will meet in the early fall and it will be its purpose to urge that all the money available in the parish treasuries be invested in the education of the children.

Democracies are not in the habit of being carried in a chariot of enthusiasm to a height of civic perfection. The whole process is a toilsome one of convincing and persuading.

One of the principal difficulties met with in this field of work has been the obstacle presented by the Mississippi River. It costs Louisiana a million dollars a year to control the river in normal times. It will cost this year a million and a half in addition to this. This is a very grave difficulty indeed, which the lower valley of the Mississippi should be relieved of by the United States Government. It has been impossible to attempt anything practical in the river region this spring. Still I can say that it has not diminished the zeal of those people in educational matters. Indeed, it seems to have increased their interest in a way, as men are always more interested in vital things when they are in trouble.

Two great summer schools were held in Louisiana this summer, one at Monroe and one at New Iberia. The school at Monroe is a combination of the schools formerly held at Ruston and Monroe,

and has been generously helped by the General Education Board. The industrial plant of the Ruston Institute will be removed to Monroe and the industrial plant of the Southwestern Institute at Lafayette will be removed to New Iberia, it being intended thus to emphasize the industrial aspect of rural school education. President Aswell has general charge of the great summer school to be held at Monroe, and at both schools serious attention will be given to training of practical campaigners for the work in hand.

Recent communications from the state superintendents of Mississippi and Arkansas (Superintendents Whitfield and Hineman) enable me to say briefly that very genuine progress has taken place, under their wise direction, in both of those places in the last few months, and both of them are scenes of great activity in educational matters. In Mississippi a popular educational campaign was waged throughout all last summer with favorable results, eleven out of fourteen counties signifying their desire to increase the school tax. The average term of the rural school has been lengthened from six to eight months in the last two years. It is interesting to note that a leading issue in the gubernatorial election is the question of the improvement of the schools for all the people, white and black. There is to be a summer school at the University of Mississippi under the direction of Chancellor Fulton, at which, in addition to the several subjects taught, it will be sought to arouse a concerted effort to send out men to battle for the school the coming year, which is to be an election year.

The letter from Superintendent Hineman is of a most encouraging character. The state legislature of Arkansas passed bills for better systematizing of the schools and the elevation of their standards. An important and significant sign of increasing interest in education in Arkansas is the fact that the salary of the superintendent's office has been increased so that it ranks next to the governor's, which is a progressive thing to do. The proposition to raise the state tax from three to four mills failed by three votes. A bill providing for the State Normal School failed by a very small vote, but, as a measure of this sort had never before reached the third reading, I suppose this may be described as encouraging.

Wherever the community feels itself in a position to make a successful fight for better schools, a report of its intention is made to the secretary of our campaign committee, who immediately places

at the disposal of the local authorities whatever speeches are at our command, and thus it is believed that the strongest influences will be made to co-operate with local interests and purposes. The following brief summary will give some idea to this Conference of the result of educational activity in the parishes of the State of Louisiana for the past year. It is not intended to leave the impression that this activity is directly or indirectly the result of work done by the agencies of the Southern Education Board, for much of it is due to a deep-seated purpose on the part of the people out of their own thinking to establish their schools solidly and enduringly. The figures are not complete, for parish and county superintendents sometimes consider it a perquisite of their offices not to reply to requests for statistical information. I am indebted to the kindness of Superintendent Calhoun for the figures herein submitted.

There are fifty-eight parishes in Louisiana. In forty-eight of these parishes eighty-one new schoolhouses were built and these houses are of distinctly modern and effective type. In forty parishes from which replies were received, two hundred and thirty schoolhouses were repaired and refurnished. Increase of school income through local taxation has taken place in twenty-one parishes, amounting in money to \$75,000. The parish police juries have increased the amount of money for schools by appropriation in fourteen parishes, amounting in money to \$37,800. The state legislature increased the general amount of their appropriations by the sum of \$128,000. All this does not include the city of New Orleans, and the total amount is \$240,000. Campaigns are now under way in four great parishes, and in one, Cameron, it is proposed to increase the tax ten mills. I believe that there will be many other campaigns under way before the fall months.

I have no novel suggestions to make. The moulding of public opinion is a slow business, but it is splendid and renovating when it is moulded. The thing for us to do, therefore, is to hammer on until the desire for better schools, and all that belongs to better schools, becomes a contagion with the people.

It is perhaps proper for me to state that, as district director of the Southern Education Board, it has been my privilege to make thirty-five public addresses in the past year on the subject of education, twenty-six of them being in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, and nine in other states. The people of Louisiana are ready,

as I have said, for large action. Their leaders are enthusiastic and dead in earnest. Strengthened and stimulated by the healthfulness issuing from this Conference and from the Southern and General Education Boards, much lasting good will be done.

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By DR. CHARLES D. McIVER,¹ President State Normal College, Greensboro, North Carolina

At a conference held in Raleigh, February 13, 1903, representing all educational interests—state, denominational and private—the opinion was unanimous that all influences should be brought to bear upon the improvement of the rural public schools, that the consolidation of school districts, the improvement of schoolhouses and the adoption of the principle of local taxation for public education were our three fundamental needs, and that there should be a systematic and persistent agitation to secure these ends.

The writer's work as district director has been largely, though not entirely, confined to North Carolina, and practically all of it has been done in connection with and through the following agencies:

- I. Educational Conference for various purposes.
- II. A systematic, popular campaign for local taxation.
- III. The organization and work of the Women's Association for the betterment of public schoolhouses in North Carolina.

I.

Educational Conferences.—Conferences at Raleigh, Greensboro, Charlotte and Hickory were held. The general purpose of these conferences was the same, though the distinctive feature of the first at Raleigh was general organization, that of the second and third, at Greensboro and Charlotte, the promotion of the idea of community philanthropy, while the purpose of the fourth was to saturate a community with such educational sentiment as would make it ready to vote a special local tax for schools.

All of the conferences were attended by the state superintendent, the governor, the president of the State University, the president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, the president of the State Normal School and Industrial College, and representatives of the leading denominational colleges of the state. A large number of public and private school-teachers and of citizens engaged in various callings were also present at each conference.

¹ Special Agent, Southern Education Board.

I paid the railroad expenses of the superintendents of about fifty counties in the western part of the state, enabling each of them to attend one of the conferences, thus giving them an opportunity to come in touch with one another and with the educational leaders of the state, and, at the same time, giving the state superintendent an opportunity to outline a uniform plan for his lieutenants.

We had planned to hold two conferences in the eastern part of North Carolina, but, finding that Secretary Buttrick, of the General Education Board, was planning a conference of all the county superintendents at Raleigh, I did not think it wise to hold any district conferences in the eastern portion of the state this year.

In my judgment, no money has ever been spent more wisely than that which made it possible for the county superintendents to come together in the smaller conferences and in the General Conferences at Raleigh. All of these conferences, except the two at Raleigh, produced a profound impression upon the communities in which they were held. The two conferences at Raleigh also did much to quicken educational thought throughout the state, because the newspapers at the capital and the special correspondents located there gave wide circulation to the important events of each conference.

The work of the Greensboro Conference was told in the Athens report. I shall speak again, however, in this report, of some important results of that conference.

On May 2, just after the Athens Conference, our Charlotte Conference was held. An effort was made to repeat the work of the Greensboro Conference with one additional feature. We undertook to raise from the city of Charlotte \$6,000, which, in turn, the General Education Board had agreed to duplicate, with the understanding that two-thirds of the amount should go to the rural schools of Mecklenburg County and one-third to the public schools of Henderson County situated in the mountain section of the state. Not quite all of this money was raised, but I am informed that all of it will be raised, and already several districts in Mecklenburg County have held elections on the local tax question, and in most of them the vote has been favorable.

At the Hickory Conference, August 13 and 14, no effort was made to raise money for rural schools, because Hickory, though a town of considerable size and of some importance in the state as a

manufacturing centre, has not yet voted a local tax upon its own property. In addition to the ordinary work of the conference, every effort was made to strengthen public sentiment in Hickory. About one year previous to the conference, the town had voted upon the question of levying a local tax and the movement was defeated. Since the Hickory Conference it has voted again, and favorably, upon the question, and Hickory will soon have a good school system, though it is necessary for the people to provide new buildings as well as maintain the schools. I would not claim that our conference at Hickory was the sole cause of the favorable vote, but unquestionably it was of great assistance to the friends of the cause.

At all the conferences the state superintendent had an opportunity to work very effectively in behalf of consolidation of school districts. The number of school districts now in North Carolina is about two hundred less than the number was on July 1, 1901.

II.

Popular Campaign for Local Taxation.—In the month of June, the state superintendent, the governor and your district director planned an active campaign for local taxation, employing as our secretary and manager one of the best educational workers in the state. By correspondence and personal conferences with representative people from different sections of the state, he and the state superintendent advertised appointments for various speakers who have been selected as suitable men to impress the doctrines of local taxation and universal education. Two hundred or more speeches were made. Most conspicuous among the campaigners from among the political and other leaders of the state were: Governor Aycock, ex-Senator and ex-Governor Thomas J. Jarvis, Congressman John H. Small, State Auditor B. F. Dixon, R. B. White, Esq., member of the state legislature; J. W. Bailey, editor of the *Biblical Recorder*; ex-State Senator A. M. Scales, ex-Attorney-General R. D. Douglas, the last two chairmen, respectively, of the Democratic and Republican executive committees of Guilford County. Each of these speakers was usually accompanied by an active teacher familiar with every phase of the educational question.

The educators who took an active part in the campaign were headed by State Superintendent Joyner, ex-State Superintendent

Mebane, ex-State Superintendent Scarborough, presidents of the state colleges, the presidents or professors of nearly all of the leading denominational colleges, superintendents of the city public schools, county superintendents and others. These speeches were made chiefly in the months of June, July and August.

Already last summer's campaign has borne fruit, as several districts have voted a special tax and many places are preparing to vote it. The most significant fact that I can state in regard to the North Carolina campaign is that the audiences attending the educational meetings in June, July and August were larger than the audiences that attended the political speakings in the months of September and October preceding the November election. Several of the speakers were in both campaigns, and the governor, who is probably the most effective and popular political campaigner in the state, says that his audiences at his fifteen speeches in the educational campaign were larger than the audiences he addressed at any fifteen political gatherings. To a person who knows North Carolina, this means a revolution in public thinking so far as education is concerned, for the political speakers had as large audiences as they have usually had except in a year when there was a Presidential election.

The educational campaign was participated in by political leaders, educators, editors, clergymen, lawyers, physicians, business men and farmers.

To some extent this campaign would have been carried on even if there had been no Southern Education Board, but I would not know how to estimate the value of the assistance the Board has rendered by paying the traveling expenses of most of the campaigners and defraying the expenses for literature and campaign organization. It should be said here that the traveling expenses of the governor and state superintendent were paid by themselves.

I have felt all the time that, acting as the agent of the Southern Education Board, it was my business to find out where valuable educational work was going on and then to use the means it placed at my disposal to intensify and multiply the force of that work, rather than undertake to inaugurate new schemes or independent campaigns, or wage any warfare upon individuals or movements that did not meet my approval or the approval of those I was representing. It was worth more to the cause of universal education to

strengthen those who were fighting for it than to fight those who were pulling the other way. Truth needs nothing but agitation in a fair, open field.

In addition to the work of the speakers in the campaign, three or four hundred dollars was spent in preparing and disseminating educational literature through newspapers and special tables of local statistics bearing upon the subject of taxation for schools, consolidation of school districts and improvements of public school-houses.

III.

Women's Association for the Betterment of Public School-houses in North Carolina.—Just before the close of the past college year, I undertook to organize, through the students of the State Normal and Industrial College, a women's movement for the improvement of the public schoolhouses of the state. It is the women rather than the men who have made the churches in the town and in the country attractive and habitable. Men have had the exclusive management of courthouses and largely the exclusive management of schoolhouses, and upon both the marks of masculinity and neglect are plainly visible.

This organization, called the "Women's Association for the Betterment of Public Schoolhouses in North Carolina," includes now not only students of the State Normal and Industrial College, but representative women, teachers and others, in various sections of the state. About twenty counties have good organizations, and literature has been sent to all the other counties. The purpose of this association is to organize small clubs or branch associations around each public school where there are three or more women who will volunteer their services to improve each year the school-house and grounds. There is no membership fee, except that the women have decided that men may become associate members, if they desire to do so, by paying an annual fee of one dollar.

We held a meeting of ten or fifteen women, including the officers of this association, last June at Morehead City, during the session of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly.

In addition to furnishing literature, I agreed to pay the expenses, to a limited extent, of ten workers in the field. So far the entire expense of the association has not reached \$300. In the meantime,

it has secured the co-operation of the *Youth's Companion*, which assists in furnishing literature, and sends pictures as premiums to those schools that take steps towards beautifying their houses and grounds. The newspapers of the state have been exceedingly generous towards this organization, as well as to the other movements in which I have participated as district director of the board.

The association has decided to join the Federation of Women's Clubs in the state. The president of the Federation, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, is one of the most effective workers for school improvement. I am thoroughly satisfied that every dollar invested in aiding the 2,000 members of this Women's Association will sooner or later yield a most bountiful harvest of good to our cause.

Guilford County.—I have thought that you would be especially interested to know the progress made in Guilford County, beginning with the conference held in Greensboro, the county seat, on April 3 and 4, 1902. This was the first of our conferences after the Raleigh meeting for organization. It was the first meeting attended by the county superintendents in large numbers. It will be remembered that, by private subscriptions, \$4,000 was raised at this conference to promote the cause of public education in the rural districts of Guilford County, and that the General Education Board duplicated this amount, making the total fund \$8,000, which amount was afterwards increased a few hundred dollars by various subscriptions.

The local board appointed at the conference to manage this fund immediately offered to aid any rural school district that would vote a special local school tax to supplement the present state and county fund. In the meantime, a steady campaign was begun to urge upon the people the importance of voting the tax independent of outside help. So far nine districts have voted this special tax, and have received, or will receive, aid from the Greensboro Conference fund. In no instance have we lost an election, though in one case our majority was only one vote and in another only four votes. We hope to carry every district in the county within two years from the date of the conference, but if we do not, the fund will all go to those districts that vote the tax.

Our Committee has proposed to give \$1,000 to the first of the fifteen rural townships in the county that votes a three-mill tax, or thirty cents on every hundred dollars' worth of property in the entire

township and ninety cents on each poll. This vote, wherever carried, will increase the annual school fund nearly 100 per cent, and will more than double the efficiency of the schools. At the same time, by actual count, four-sevenths of the taxpayers of the fifteen rural townships would pay less than ninety cents property tax of the special tax so voted, as four-sevenths of the taxpayers are assessed less than \$300.

My own work in the Guilford County campaign has been to get these facts into the minds of every citizen of the county. These same figures are approximately correct for any county in North Carolina. I have placed the facts and figures in every home in the fifteen rural townships of Guilford, through newspapers and printed tables, and we hope not to be defeated in a single election in the county.

These statements will, I think, explain to you why we are moving a little more slowly in Guilford than might appear at first to be necessary. We began with single districts where sentiment was most favorable. Now we are soon to have an election for an entire township instead of a district, and some citizens have recently suggested that we try the entire county at once. This last suggestion will probably not be followed, and I only mention it to show progress in favorable sentiment and growing confidence among the friends of the same cause.

So far our local board in Guilford County has made no hard and fast rule as to the amount of money to be appropriated to each district from the \$8,000 fund, but usually in the districts that have voted the local tax we have given one dollar for every two raised by a private subscription to build and furnish schoolhouses. To illustrate, a district voted local tax and agreed to raise by private subscription \$400 for a schoolhouse, and we gave them \$200. Another district voted the tax and besides raised \$800, to which we added \$400, making a total building fund of \$1,200. Of this \$1,200 it will be seen, therefore, that the General Education Board contributes \$200, or one-sixth, the private contributors at the Greensboro Conference \$200, or one-sixth, while the immediate locality furnishes two-thirds of the amount, besides voting the annual tax to double its school fund. I cannot conceive of a finer educational investment than this, where one philanthropic dollar is met by another philanthropic dollar and four local dollars, all from private

sources, and at the same time the whole community is encouraged to vote an annual tax that will permanently double the efficiency of its schools.

If this proportion should be kept up through the county, the \$4,000 given by the General Education Board will result in the raising of \$20,000 in the county by private subscriptions, and a special tax for schools amounting annually to more than \$10,000. Undoubtedly this tax would be voted some time in the future without aid from any outside source; and it is proper to say here that I had the promise of \$1,500 from Greensboro people for stimulating purposes before the General Education Board agreed to duplicate all we would raise, not exceeding \$4,000; but without the stimulus of its generous offer we could not have hoped for a large fund, and the voting of the special local tax in the rural districts of Guilford County would have been postponed to a considerably later date.

In less than two years from the date of the Greensboro Conference, it is probable that Guilford County alone will have more special school-tax communities than all the state of North Carolina had ten years ago, including its towns and cities.

Our able state superintendent of public instruction, Hon. J. Y. Joyner, has furnished me statistics recently secured from most of the counties, showing that in those counties there are now seventy-nine towns and cities and rural communities that have a special local school tax, that elections are pending in forty-five districts, and that in nearly one hundred other communities the question of a local school tax is being considered and agitated with probable elections soon.

It is interesting to note that three counties aided by the Greensboro Conferences and the General Education Board with a bonus of twenty thousand dollars, have been more active than any other three counties in the state during the past year, this aid to the rural districts being exactly in the line of the aid of the Peabody Fund to Greensboro, Charlotte and other towns and cities in North Carolina when they first voted a special local tax for schools.

Guilford County now has nine local tax districts, besides Greensboro and High Point, and about ten other districts are considered favorable for an election during the next six months.

Mecklenburg County has three local tax districts, besides Char-

lotte, and has one election pending and three other districts considered favorable.

Henderson County, in the mountains of western North Carolina, has three local tax districts, elections pending in two districts, and four other districts considered favorable.

As showing the tendency to consolidation, the number of school districts in Henderson County is three less than it was last June; the number of districts in Guilford County is four less than it was last June, and the number of districts in Mecklenburg County is six less than it was last June.

The North Carolina legislature at its last session enacted many beneficial changes in the school laws:

First.—While it reduced many general appropriations and reduced the sum total of its appropriations below what they were two years ago, it increased every educational appropriation.

Second.—It adopted every official recommendation of the state superintendent of public instruction, with one exception, and that suggestion, to provide for deputy state superintendents, will be made again and probably enacted into law two years from now.

Third.—It increased the clerical force of the state superintendent of public instruction, and increased the salary of that officer thirty-three and one-third per cent. So far as I recall, this is the second state salary increased by the legislature during the past twenty years. It is proper to state that, at Superintendent Joyner's request, the increase in salary will not become effective until his present term of office expires, two years from now.

Fourth.—It established a \$200,000 loan fund, to be used under the direction of the State Board of Education for the building and improving of public schoolhouses. Each loan must be returned in ten annual instalments, with 4 per cent interest paid annually. This arrangement provides a \$200,000 loan for this year and a perpetual annual loan fund of \$28,000.

Fifth.—The appropriation of \$5,000 for rural libraries was increased to \$7,500, \$2,500 of which is to go to the improvement of the nearly five hundred rural libraries established within the past two years, and the other \$5,000 to be used as the first \$5,000 was used, to establish new libraries. Under this plan the school district raises \$10 by private subscription, the county fund pays \$10 and the state fund pays \$10, so that this \$7,500 appropriation means

\$22,500 to be invested in reading for the children of rural districts in addition to the \$15,000 recently so invested.

Sixth.—The compensation of the county superintendents was increased fifty per cent, and provision was made for paying the expenses of county superintendents to attend a state meeting of the superintendents once a year.

Seventh.—The plans of all new schoolhouses must be approved by the county boards of education and the state superintendent.

Eighth.—The general law for local taxation was made as favorable as practicable, and forty or fifty special acts were passed allowing as many communities to vote upon the question of local taxation and the establishment of graded schools. Most of these, of course, were in the rural districts.

So much for education in North Carolina. I do not pretend to claim that all these encouraging signs are the result of the work of the Southern Education Board. The board is simply a helper, and any board may be gratified to aid in work where there is so much activity and where the signs are pointing in the right direction.

In addition to my work in North Carolina, I have, since our last meeting at Athens, in co-operation with the governor and the state school commissioner of Georgia, and the governor and the state superintendent of South Carolina, visited those states with a view to aiding in an organization similar to the one made at the Raleigh Conference more than a year ago.

In Georgia I met Governor Terrill, State School Commissioner Merritt, Hon. Hoke Smith, Bishop Candler, Chancellor Hill, President Branson and other leading educators, and found them ready to welcome the co-operation of the Southern Education Board in a local tax campaign as soon as the constitutional provision of Georgia relative to local taxes for schools should be amended so as to give a fair chance to the people to vote special taxes for schools. An amendment looking to this end has passed one branch of the legislature and will probably pass the other house in June and be submitted to the people for ratification. At present, before a local tax can be levied in Georgia, it is necessary to have the endorsement of the grand juries, and, at the election, two-thirds of the registered voters. This is an ironclad protection against taxing property.

On April 11 I met at Columbia, South Carolina, Governor Hayward, State Superintendent Martin, President D. B. Johnson, and

more than forty other educators representing every phase of educational work in South Carolina. They adopted a plan of campaign and issued an address to the people of South Carolina similar to that issued at the Raleigh Conference a year ago last February to the people of North Carolina. South Carolina's law is very favorable to local taxation and her constitutional tax without local taxation is three mills, or thirty cents on every one hundred dollars' worth of property, as compared with North Carolina's legislative and constitutional tax of eighteen cents on every one hundred dollars' worth of property.

Much enthusiasm was manifested at Columbia, and I believe that we may look forward to a vigorous campaign for public educational improvements in that state. It already has two hundred local tax communities.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN MISSISSIPPI

By DR. ROBERT B. FULTON, Chancellor of the University of Mississippi

In order to understand fully whatever of educational progress has been made in Mississippi during the last fifteen years, conditions which existed previous to that time should be kept in mind. In the ante bellum days the state had no public educational system. The lands granted by Congress in aid of public schools, amounting to one section in each township or about one-thirty-sixth part of all the lands in the state, had yielded no large fund for the support of education. Other funds for education were quite small. The state had been rapidly settled by immigration from the Southern states lying east of it, and the settlers were usually men of means. The per capita distribution of wealth among the whites in Mississippi immediately before the Civil War was large. Agricultural labor in the production of cotton was very remunerative. Schools of course existed only for the whites, and under private or church or community control. Such schools multiplied, and many of them did large and effective work. There was a general sentiment, founded upon individual independence and pride, which in the eyes of the public made it rather unseemly for any parent to depend upon the state for assistance in the education of his children.

The Civil War entirely changed these conditions. During the period of reconstruction some effort was made to organize a public school system. This was intended to afford equal opportunities to whites and blacks. Like many measures inaugurated in that period it incurred the odium of the tax-paying white people, and for many years little progress was made.

In the year 1890, under the administration of Hon. J. R. Preston, state superintendent of education, the first well marked effort was made to put life and vigor into the public educational system of the state. Superintendent Preston was instrumental in securing such legislation as required the examination of teachers applying for license by the state superintendent of education instead of under the direction of the county superintendents. The first examinations held in accordance with this policy showed the deficiencies of many teachers. Some were discouraged, others were stimulated. At that

time the state was receiving no help from the Peabody Education Fund, and there was no organized work maintained by the state in any school for the training of white teachers. In the fall of 1892 the faculty at the University, upon the suggestion of the chancellor, agreed to give at the University during the following summer courses which would be helpful to teachers in the public schools. Correspondence with the county superintendents of education had shown that between three and four hundred white teachers would probably be inclined to take advantage of such opportunity. The plan was proposed at the State Teachers' Association held in Jackson in December, 1892. At that time departments of pedagogy in state universities were coming into favor and the association placed on record its expression of favor for such department. In the month of January, following, Superintendent Preston secured from the secretary of the Peabody Education Fund, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, an appropriation sufficient to maintain one or two summer institutes for teachers in the State of Mississippi. One of these held at the University in the summer of 1893, brought together a course of four hundred and fifty teachers from the public schools, most of whom were sadly conscious of their own deficiencies. This was by far the largest assemblage of Mississippi teachers which had ever met. The mutual acquaintances and the stimulus derived from the lectures of prominent educators from various parts of the country gave great impetus in the right direction, and the work was most valuable, not only for what was accomplished, but more for what was projected. This was the beginning of the series of summer meetings at the University and elsewhere which has continued up to the present time, and with increasing interest and profit to the individual workers in the public schools as well as to education generally in the state. The last of these gatherings held at the University in June and July, 1903, was attended by more than seven hundred and fifty teachers, earnest in their desire for knowledge, skill, and increased efficiency in their work. The institution of state examination for license to teach has been undoubtedly of the greatest value in stimulating teachers and in securing better efficiency in their work, as well as the higher appreciation of their work by the public.

Another feature of far-reaching importance inaugurated during the administration of Superintendent Preston was the law authoriz-

ing the formation of separate school districts. In accordance with this law over seventy-five communities in the state were soon organized into separate districts, in which, by local taxation, excellent school buildings were erected, and provision made for the maintenance of well graded schools for a period of at least eight months in each year. These schools have in almost every case made rapid progress in the excellence of their work, and have won the fullest confidence and the cordial support of the local community. Many of them have developed good high school departments. All of them have drawn pupils from the surrounding rural districts, especially in their advanced grades. While these schools in the separate school districts do not reach more than 15 or 20 per cent of all the children of school age in the state, yet their success has been so marked that they have been a striking object lesson to other communities where conditions are not so favorable.

It should be borne in mind that in the State of Mississippi there are separate schools for whites and for negroes. The negro public schools are taught entirely by negro teachers. In the separate school districts and in the rural school districts the schools are maintained during terms of equal length for the two races.

In the year 1893, during the meeting of the teachers held at the University, a committee of ten was appointed to draft a model scheme for grading the better schools of the state and marking out for them and for high schools courses leading from the primary classes up to the freshman classes of the State University. A scheme was adopted, upon the report of this committee, by formal action of the State Teachers' Association. This was published, and has served as a model for the shaping of probably every graded school in the state. Previous to its adoption every teacher followed his own devices in the matter.

In the years 1892 and 1893 the authorities of the State University and the administrators of the public school system reached a definite understanding in regard to the relationship between the State University and the public school system by which the University and all other public schools were recognized as parts of one general system. Since that period the policy outlined by Mr. Jefferson for public education in Virginia, and first exemplified fully in the public school systems of the Northwestern states, has been practically controlling in Mississippi. There has been the heartiest

co-operation between the schools of all grades and the State University. Many of the graduates of the University have gone into the public school work, and many communities look to the University to supply them with efficient teachers.

The constitution of the state which has been in force since 1892 requires of every voter an educational qualification before he can exercise an elective franchise. It also requires that the legislature by general taxation provide sufficient funds to maintain the public schools for at least four months in each year, which funds shall be distributed to the several counties in proportion to the number of educable children. It also allows each separate school district to levy taxes within a reasonable limit to supplement the appropriation made by the state and to continue its school for a full session of nine months, and allows the several counties to make a supplemental levy sufficient to maintain public schools in the county for a period altogether of nine months in each year.

Whatever of advancement Mississippi has made in public education within the last ten years must be largely attributed to the legislation to which reference has been made. It is undoubtedly true that the requirement that a voter shall be able to read has placed a premium upon education, and that the silent working of this constitutional provision in the public mind has been wholesome. The separate school district law has given the opportunity for the development of good schools in the most favored localities. While it may have detracted something at first from the means of support of the rural schools in those counties where the separate school districts were maintained, yet upon the whole the establishment of good schools in the seventy-five or more separate school districts has undoubtedly afforded an object lesson of the greatest value to the neighboring rural districts. These, within the last five years, have felt very largely the stimulating effect of these object lessons. The legislation which allows the counties to make a special levy to maintain all the schools in the county for a longer period than four months has also been most wholesome. Nearly ten years ago County Superintendent Regan of Claiborne County, through his personal exertions, secured such a levy in his county as has maintained all the schools in the county for a period of eight or nine months each year. Other counties, amounting in number now to fully fifteen, have been induced to follow this example. Under the

aggressive administration of Superintendent Whitfield the work of lengthening the school term of the rural school by securing an additional tax levy in the counties has made rapid progress, and the end of the year 1903 will probably show that as many as thirty counties in the state have adopted this policy. It thus appears that the example set by the establishment of good schools in the separate school districts has accomplished vastly more for the rural schools than would have been accomplished if the funds used in the separate school districts had been equally distributed over the counties.

The school boards in the separate school districts are generally willing and anxious to provide every facility needed for improving the efficiency of these schools and for advancing the grade of instruction offered. It is worthy of note that never in the history of the state has there been such a large demand for thoroughly prepared and efficient teachers for the advanced grades and the high school departments of these schools as has been felt in the year 1903. These high schools are so distributed over the state as that no ambitious boy or girl need be deprived of a high school training. The larger and more complete development of these high schools is now one of the matters most urgently calling for attention in Mississippi. For this work competent high school teachers are in great demand. In order to meet these conditions the State University has arranged to expand its chair of pedagogy into a department of education. This department has been fully organized and will begin its work at the opening of the next session in September, 1903.

The advancement which has been made in the state in the last decade was strikingly evidenced by the very large number of teachers attending the Summer School of the University in 1903. As compared with those who attended in 1893 their numbers were twice as great and the evidenced proficiency largely more than thrice as great. The enthusiasm and intelligent interest in their work is a most hopeful prophecy for the rapid advancement for all work done in the public schools in Mississippi. The outlook is most encouraging in that it shows:

1. That the high school departments of the schools organized in the separate school districts are rapidly developing in efficiency and thoroughness, and are now placing opportunities for high school training in every county in the state and within reach of practically all the youth of the state.

2. That county taxation is rapidly solving the question of affording longer terms and better facilities for rural schools.

3. That the existence of good schools in the separate school districts has brought about a proper appreciation of good school work, and a larger demand for well trained and efficient teachers in the high schools as well as in the schools of lower grade, and a better appreciation of the fact that efficient teachers deserve adequate compensation for their services.

All that has been said above relates specially to schools for whites. While there are corresponding schools for negroes in the separate school districts, it should be remembered that social conditions have led to the employment of negro teachers exclusively in the negro schools, that we have been offering to the negro race identically the same form and method of instruction, with the use of the same text-books and facilities, which have been worked out for white children, and that we have tacitly been assuming that an education fitted for the Anglo-Saxon is that which should be offered to the negro children.

As a result of the prevailing conditions the advancement in education made by the negro race in Mississippi has not been as marked as that shown by the white race. It is probably true that in the elementary grades the negro child learns to read and learns the first rudiments as readily as the white child. Whether from racial or other conditions their work and advancement in the higher grades is not as largely successful in accomplishing desired results.

The public educational work which has been done for the negro race in Mississippi has been chiefly paid for by white taxpayers. This has been tacitly allowed as a matter of benevolence, and public policy rather than wise pedagogical discrimination has controlled public sentiment. One great problem of the future will be to determine what racial differentiation in the mode of education should be made for the negro race in view of his racial peculiarities and his social condition and family life. The fact that 60 per cent of the population of Mississippi belongs to this race gives special interest here to this question. Undoubtedly more of moral and parental training is needed for this race. Industrial training of various kinds may help to a successful solution of the problem as to what educational facilities are most helpful to the negro race in Mississippi. The lack of proper home influences seems to be the most serious desideratum.

THE PROGRESS OF SOUTHERN EDUCATION

By JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Esq., of Raleigh, N. C.

There have been four great obstacles to educational progress in North Carolina :

1. The negro, enfranchised against the protest of the people, who were forced against their will to pay a tax to educate him.
2. Poverty—grinding poverty—following war and reconstruction, such as this generation cannot know.
3. The lack of qualified teachers and the lack of inducement to capable men and women to become teachers.
4. High mountain ranges and numerous water courses in the west, where people live far apart and where compact school districts are impossible, and great pocosins, or swamps, in portions of the east, which present the same barriers to consolidation in many parts of the coast region that the mountain ranges present in the west.

These four obstacles : but the greatest of these has been, is now, and must be, at least in this generation, the negro. He has been the lion in the path, the ever present and often insurmountable obstacle to public education. There are those who assert that many opponents of taxation for public education on other grounds use the expenditure of money for negro education as a pretext, and that if no share of public money went to educating the negro they would still oppose taxes for public education. That may be true with some, but the naked truth is, that much of the money from taxation—I had almost said the bulk of it—that has gone to negro education, has been given against the judgment of Southern taxpayers. Here, where we are seeking to get at the real facts, so that the best results may follow, there is no need to look at things except just as they are—to paint the picture as it really is—warts, freckles and all.

Is it surprising that the Southern people, in the ashes of a poverty that pride largely concealed from the world, resented the enfranchisement of their slaves? Is it surprising that they cried out against being taxed to educate the children of negroes, newly freed, when the losses of war sent their own children, unused to manual work, into the fields to perform the coarsest labors? When

zealous women from the North, with the missionary instinct to uplift the negro, came South and themselves taught the negroes and, in some cases, mingled with them upon terms of social equality, is it strange that the Southern people felt that these teachers had come South to put the bottom rail on top? And when, in some instances, their teaching seemed at first to produce among some of the worst young negroes a vicious attitude, is Southern hostility to negro education surprising? When the statement is published upon the authority of leading teachers that the census reports show the negro to be four and a half times more criminal in New England, where the negroes are better educated than in the black belt where illiteracy is greatest, is it a matter of astonishment that men declare to-day that negro education is a failure?

The marvel of it all is, not that many Southern people cried out against paying taxes to educate negroes, believing that it did them no good, but that notwithstanding their utter disbelief in its good results or their skepticism of its value, they have gone on, year after year, spending more and more money to educate the negro children. Nor must it ever be forgotten that all over the South, before 1860, good women had taught slaves to read and write, so that when emancipation came, there were not a few negroes who had been, in an educational sense, made fit for suffrage.

The Southerners believed then, they believe now, they always will believe, with Henry Ward Beecher, "We should make the negro worthy first before giving him suffrage." Tourgee's hindsight, better than his foresight, caused him to prove that in the contrary policy pursued, the attempt was to make bricks without straw. There are many Southern people who believe thoroughly in educating the negro, and believe that it helps him and the whole country, and their unselfish efforts in his behalf are beyond all praise. There are thousands and tens of thousands who do not believe in it at all, and who are frank to say that, in their judgment, it does nobody good. There are others who, seeing the examples of negroes who have been helped by education, and being surrounded by negroes whose smattering of education has done them harm, are halting between two opinions. There are others—and in this class I believe most of the thoughtful people of the South are to be found—who feel that, whatever may be the result, they dare not shut the door of hope and opportunity which education may open to any people

anywhere—the negro in the South, the Indian in the West, the Filipino in Manila. They do not expect of education that it will change the negro rapidly. They know to the contrary. They hope, they believe, they trust, that eventually it will prove beneficial, because they have faith that light and knowledge will surely bless wherever they abound.

The eloquent Southern Methodist bishop, George F. Pierce, regarded by Toombs as the most eloquent of Georgians, was once asked if he believed that the heathen would be saved if the Christians refused to send the Gospel to them. "It is not a question to you, my friend," replied the bishop, "whether the heathen will be saved if you do not help to send them the Gospel. That is God's business. He commands you to send the Gospel. The question for you to consider is: 'Will you be saved if you disobey God's command to send it?'"

With this last class the question is not: "Can I demonstrate by statistics, by mathematics, by investigation, to my perfect satisfaction, whether negro education is worth what it costs?" The question is: "Would I dare to say to any human being, 'You shall not have the chance which education may give of improving your mental, moral and physical welfare?'"

Since 1870, according to Hon. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education (Report of U. S. Com. of Ed., 1889-1900, volume II, page 2501), the South has spent \$109,000,000 for negro education. North Carolina alone has spent \$5,380,770.74. Now if this money had been spent by people who sincerely believed it was being well invested, these figures would not seem so large, but when it is remembered that the majority of the men who paid this money either disbelieved entirely in the education of the negro, were skeptical as to its value, or favored it as Bishop Pierce said men must consider foreign missions, it is seen to be, all things considered, the most remarkable and astounding investment of money that any people ever made.

The second obstacle to educational progress in the South has been poverty.

For almost a century most of the savings of the Southern people, most of the South's surplus of wealth, had been invested in slaves. In 1860 the reported value of slaves was \$60,000,000. If, without any devastation of war, any loss of earning capacity by the men

killed or wounded in battle, or diseased by exposure incident to camp life, this immense sum of money had been taken from the South, it would have been wretchedly poor. Add to the loss of the accumulations and savings of many years, the losses in other property, which the vanquished must always bear in war, the even greater calamity in the death and maiming of its strongest and best bread-winners, and some faint idea of the poverty which the South faced in 1865 may be grasped. This utter, abject poverty, involving the denial of the common necessities, can never be known or appreciated.

But the South is still poor. I know that this will be denied by those who take a superficial view or think all the South is as rich as the Carolina truck gardens, the Virginia cities, the Texas oil wells, or the Alabama coal fields. The South is growing richer every day. It is developing its resources, its young men have gone to work in the factory, the mine, the field; on every hand you see evidences of prosperity. The future of the South industrially is assured. Out of the poverty of war, out of the disaster of reconstruction, by twenty years of well-directed industry, it has built large cities and established great industries. But, while it has done wonders in these short years and laid the foundation for greater prosperity, the South is relatively still poor. The *Southern Educator* says that 1,000,000 people live in log houses in Georgia. In every state there are thousands whose incomes are so small as to make everything beyond the common necessities of life impossible. There are fewer of these every year, thanks to the building of railroads which open new markets and avenues of wealth, and the varied industrial development which is blessing the South. But it will be generations before the South catches up with other sections of the Republic, and recovers from the losses of war and reconstruction. But she will do it. Her sons are strong, robust, industrious, confident, self-reliant, ready and willing to work with head and hand. In the face of all the progress it is making, I know it is not popular to say that the South is poor, but those who are acquainted with the rural conditions know that, while grinding poverty has passed, the bulk of the people have succeeded as yet in making but small accumulations.

The third obstacle has been the lack of trained teachers and the lack of incentive to capable men to become teachers.

Most of the male teachers between 1865 and 1880 were Confederate soldiers, many of them teaching to secure bread. They had gone into the army from schools in which they had but begun their education. With one leg or one arm gone, they were unfit, when the war was over, for the manual labor which their comrades undertook. Equipped with meagre education, but rigid discipline, they taught the children the three "r's," and in the recess delighted them with stories of the war.

I knew such a teacher, big of heart and brave as a lion, who left a leg at Gettysburg, who was one of the most popular teachers in his community. He knew how to maintain discipline, he could teach, and teach thoroughly—up to partial payments—and he could describe a battle with such graphic vividness as to make the hair of his pupils stand on end. For twenty dollars a month, for three months in the year, that noble soldier was the pioneer post-bellum leader in public education in his neighborhood. He would not shine in a teachers' institute, but he taught the rudiments thoroughly and sowed the seed from which this generation is reaping.

The short terms and low salaries have not encouraged men and women to become teachers, but the call to teach has in every year been heard and heeded by thousands, who have found a compensation that is priceless in the love and gratitude of their students. And so, though the pay has been small, the schools have been manned by teachers worth ten times the salary that they received. Better normal instruction has provided better teachers, the growing prosperity has multiplied graded schools, which have offered better inducements to teachers, and this obstacle of the lack of trained teachers is year by year disappearing.

People who live in compact communities can have little appreciation of the obstacle to adequate public schools to be found in a sparse population. In the mountains and in the low country, the population is widely scattered, and it is where the people live farthest apart the least progress has been made. But even where the environment makes strongest against progress, the people are becoming aroused to the necessity of better schools and longer terms, and are bridging swamps and climbing mountains to give their sons and daughters a better chance in life.

So much for the obstacles. We are already—the world is already—familiar with the statistics of illiteracy, the figures showing

appropriations for schools, and the general spirit of enthusiasm and hope that pervades the South. I have dwelt upon the serious obstacles because I have often thought that in some quarters the South has been too harshly judged by men who read nothing but statistics.

I am more familiar with North Carolina—its improvement as indicated by official figures and in the changed and improved and improving public sentiment—and will confine myself to the development in that state, which has the distinction of being a leader in this and other progressive educational movements. The story of North Carolina fairly tells the story of progress of all the Southern states.

I can remember when there was not a single city, town or village or a school district in North Carolina that levied a special tax for public schools, and at that time the general school tax provided a fund that afforded only the most inefficient short-term schools.

The first town that voted a local tax for graded schools was Greensboro in 1874. To-day there are seventy-eight local tax districts that support their public schools by public taxation, quite a number of country districts are doing so, and, within the past year, a large number of towns and school districts have voted a local tax to establish graded schools. The legislature of 1903 passed more special acts for establishing graded schools and erecting public school buildings than ever before in the history of the state.

But these figures in themselves do not adequately convey the real progress. Many school districts have been consolidated—that work is going on every month, wisely and rapidly—and this is all preparatory to an accelerated increase in the number of districts that will, within the next few years, vote a special tax to improve the public schools in village and in rural district, for almost every town of any importance now has its graded school, supported by taxation.

A concrete example in one growing town will illustrate the new and better condition in the whole state. It was my good fortune to grow up in the village in eastern North Carolina that had the best private schools and academies in that section of the state. Twenty-five years ago, in the town of Wilson, there was a flourishing woman's seminary and a prosperous academy for boys and young men. They attracted students from twenty counties, and had famous instructors and splendid wooden buildings. But the public school,

open only about two months, during the vacation of the private schools, was taught in an abandoned carriage factory. The teachers were good, but the crowded classes and short terms made the public school largely a failure. Few parents who could pay tuition thought of depending upon them. A magnificent brick building, costing \$50,000, has been erected for a useful and strong denominational college. The people have recently built a \$35,000 brick building for its excellent public graded school for white children. Commodious and well-equipped buildings had previously been erected for the graded schools for the negro children.

The change in most other communities has been even more marked, for in many there were only indifferent and small private schools, before the establishment of graded schools. In those a transformation greater and more uplifting than any array of figures would indicate has been wrought, for the influence of these schools of democracy has touched every phase of community life to bless it.

The progress in what we call higher education has been most gratifying. In 1875 the doors of the State University—the oldest and one of the foremost institutions of learning in the South, with an illustrious history—were closed. Only one college had a dollar of endowment and that had been seriously impaired by war. In 1875 only about three hundred young men were matriculated in all the colleges. To-day there are not less than twenty-five hundred.

Within the past fifteen years the state has established two great industrial institutions—the A. and M. College for white boys at Raleigh and the A. and M. College for colored boys at Greensboro. The aggregate appropriations and expenditures at both have been three-quarters of a million dollars. At Greensboro the state has established for women the State Normal and Industrial College, the success of which has been almost phenomenal. It represents the expenditure of more than half a million dollars in ten years. The appropriation from the state treasury has been increased from \$12,500 to \$40,000 a year. The state has added largely to the institution for the blind at Raleigh, and erected commodious and modern buildings for a model school for the deaf and dumb children at Morgantown, costing \$200,000. Private benefaction has constructed five new buildings at the University, at a cost of over \$200,000. The appropriations from the state treasury for the Uni-

versity, which reopened in 1876 with a state appropriation of \$7,500 per year, have been increased to \$37,500 per year. Eight normal schools for the training of teachers for the negro schools are maintained by the state at locations convenient and accessible.

The private academies and preparatory schools (North Carolina from its earliest history has always been blessed with a few private schools worthy to rank with the best in England or New England) have multiplied in numbers and attendance, doing a great and needed work, filling the gap between the public schools and the colleges.

The denominational colleges have gone forward steadily and rapidly. The endowment in one alone, Trinity College, coming almost wholly from two men—father and son—has grown to something like half a million. Wake Forest has increased to a quarter of a million; Davidson to a quarter of a million; Elon, during the past year, received a handsome donation. The endowments in the denominational colleges for women have not been so great, but these colleges have shown a growth that tells mightily the story of the belief in educating women that has been the distinguishing educational characteristic of the state during the past ten years. New colleges for women have been established and grown to great usefulness in a single year.

Among the most important forward steps that the state has lately taken, I must name three.

1. The legislature has now for four years made an appropriation of \$100,000 a year, out of the general funds, to be applied to the schools in the poorer counties whose revenues are not sufficient to bring their school terms up to the constitutional requirement.

2. It has made appropriations of \$12,500 for free rural libraries in connection with the public schools, which, supplemented by the counties and private subscriptions, will amount to \$37,500.

3. The general assembly, which adjourned last month, recognizing that the pressing need in public education is better schoolhouses, upon the recommendation of the state's able and wise superintendent of schools, one of the first educators in wisdom and in executive ability in America to-day, set aside the sum of \$200,000 and all funds hereafter arising from the sale of thousands of acres of public lands belonging to the state, to be a "Permanent Loan Fund for Building and Improving Public Schoolhouses."

The State Board of Education is directed to lend this money at 4 per cent to school districts which have not the money to build schoolhouses, to be repaid in ten annual instalments. This sum will be used to supplement local appropriations and contributions. If it could be doubled and the entire school fund, a large part of which has necessarily been used to build schoolhouses, could be used exclusively to employ teachers, the good result which we confidently expect in ten years, would be accomplished within one year. I believe this is the most important step taken in public education in any Southern state. You cannot secure a full attendance without comfortable schoolhouses. Good schoolhouses must be at the foundation of all permanent progress in public education. The loan fund established by North Carolina has the germ of the best work possible of early accomplishment that philanthropists and legislators can undertake.

These facts tell in outline the story of the educational progress in North Carolina, as far as it can be told by brick, mortar, statutes and appropriations. These are the visible signs of the revival that has, like a living fire, touched the minds and hearts of the people of the state. But as the spirit is always superior to the material, these facts and figures cannot convey the full story of the wonderful progress that this generation has witnessed. That story will be found in the newer life of intellectual and industrial activity that dominates the South to-day and that will lead it into larger fields in the days that are to come.

North Carolina's contribution to the educational revival is found mainly within the state, for the true Tar-heel is ever mindful of the injunction, "Beginning at Jerusalem." Perhaps we stay there too long and preach too much only to the saints. But North Carolina has furnished educational leaders, not only for its own schools and colleges, but has furnished educational leaders also for the South and elsewhere. Page, of New York; Alderman, of Louisiana; Branson, of Georgia; Pell, of South Carolina; Barringer, of Virginia; Houston, of Texas, all prominently connected with the Southern Education Conference and its work, are natives of North Carolina, while Woodrow Wilson spent his boyhood in Wilmington; and Dabney and Claxton, of Tennessee; D. B. Johnson, of South Carolina; J. D. Eggleston, Jr., of Virginia, and other leaders in this movement, began the work of their early manhood and retained their citizen-

ship in North Carolina long enough to be indoctrinated with proper ideas of educational leadership. Its present governor, Charles B. Aycock, and Georgia's foremost citizen, Hoke Smith, were both born in North Carolina. Among public leaders in the educational progress of to-day, the names of these two North Carolinians "lead all the rest."

To-day, with this backward glance at what has been accomplished in spite of the negro burden, the swamps, and mountains, the sparseness of population, the lack of trained teachers, and poverty, North Carolinians, having come up out of great tribulations, and rejoicing that they have reached *Appi Forum*, thank God and take courage. That good state is happy in that, though the harvest is great, it is ripe for the sickle and the laborers are not few.

Among the causes of congratulation to-day is the fact that at last the South has the sympathy and the co-operation of the most patriotic and broad-minded men of the Republic—men who are moved by the highest motives and the purest patriotism in their interest in Southern education.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

By DR. WALTER B. HILL, Chancellor of the University of Georgia

Why "in the South"? Why is the problem of negro education a Southern problem? Obviously because the negro is in the South. But why is he here? Why is it that nearly forty years after emancipation, with free right of egress, nine-tenths of the negroes are still found in the states in which they were once slaves and not in the states whose initiative made them free? Why is it that these eight millions of people who love to "travel on the cars" have not made the cheap and easy journey across the line? Why has there been no exodus, if there was near by a Canaan with no sea or wilderness between? The answer to this question, according to our local interpretation, is that the negro is in the South by his own choice; because he is better treated here than elsewhere; because his most important right—the right to make a living—is more completely secured. If these things were not true, it seems to us that there would be a Northern educational conference discussing at Philadelphia or Chicago the problem of negro education in the North or West.

The Confederate Negro.—Recently a group of Confederate veterans were recounting stories of the war. One of them told of a faithful body servant who had accompanied him to the field. The negro was captured by the Federal scouts and was given a place as cook for the colonel of a Federal regiment, with salary attached. He ran away from this cosy berth and returned to his master—bringing with him a sack of supplies and a box of the colonel's Havana cigars, on the plea that as he had been working for the colonel and the true owner had received no wages, something was due. Then another veteran in the group told a story. It was of a day of fierce battle, of an officer shot to pieces while leading his regiment in a desperate charge—the word passed back the line—and then a negro darting forward into the very crest of the battle and in the leaden hail of bullets bearing back the body of his wounded master, and afterwards nursing him into life. When these stories had been rehearsed with that fullness of detail which

was characteristic of the art of story-telling as practiced by the Southern gentleman of the olden time, one of the group, as if seized by a sudden inspiration, said: "Gentlemen, if I live to get to the Confederate Reunion at New Orleans next month, I am going to propose a monument. It is to be of black marble and to be erected in honor of the "Confederate nigger."

The object of this allusion has been to enable me to say that the duty of the South to negro education, whatever we may find that duty to be, is a duty to the children and grandchildren of the Confederate negro; and this phrase ought to include not only the faithful body-servant in war, but the old black mammy and the Uncle Remus who were objects of so much affection in every Southern household; and indeed all the negroes in the South who cared for and protected the wives and children of the soldiers at the front and who—strangest anomaly in history—fed by their labor the armies that were fighting against their freedom.

In September, 1902, a meeting of the county school superintendents of education in Georgia was held at Athens. It was the first of the series of similar conferences arranged by Dr. Buttrick. A place on the program was given to the subject of negro education, and Superintendent Gwaltney, of Rome, was appointed to lead the discussion. In the course of his opening remarks he said: "I shall begin by assuming that we are all lovers of the negro." As I heard his words, I could not avoid thinking how profoundly true they were, how naturally and cordially the superintendents accepted this definition of their attitude towards the subject; and at the same time I realized how these identical words, if they had fallen from the lips of a stranger, assuming the rôle of missionary, lecturer, or guardian, would have been liable to instant and hostile misinterpretation.

Another remark at the meeting which arrested attention was that of Superintendent Polhill, of Worth County, who, in speaking of the work at Tuskegee, said: "Booker Washington knows more about this matter than all of us put together."

The Tutelage of Slavery.—The beginning of the education of the negro was the tutelage of slavery. The South does not deny the abuses of slavery and she rejoices in the great conclusion that property in man is forever overthrown; but she contemplates with some complacency the fact that the tuition of slavery developed the

negro in a century and a half from the condition of the savage to a status where, in the judgment of those hostile to slavery, the negro was fitted for the privileges of American citizenship. No free civilized race ever made equal progress in emergence from barbarism in so short a time. The education of slavery was not in books, nor were books needed at the beginning. It was an education and discipline in labor and in practical ethics; in the virtues of order, fidelity, temperance and obedience. Religious instruction was not neglected. There was recently published a letter of a young Methodist minister in South Carolina who afterwards became a bishop of his church. The letter was written about 1840 and throws a side-light on the state of opinion at the time. He referred to the fact that he had recently received an appointment to labor among the negroes and expressed his sense of being honored by it, saying: "I have observed that only those who are well thought of by the bishop and the brethren receive appointments among the negroes." Slavery was the first chapter, the longest, and up to the present time the most fruitful chapter, in the history of negro education.

Reconstruction Blunders.—The second chapter began shortly after emancipation and includes the blunders of the reconstruction period. The reaction against the past was natural. Luther said that "the human mind was like a drunken peasant on horseback—if you put him up on one side he will fall off on the other." As the teaching of books had been denied to the negro in slavery, so now it was assumed that the only education needed was to supply this omission and accordingly an effort was made in schools and colleges to insert into the mind of the negro race, as by a surgical operation, the culture for which the Anglo-Saxon race had been preparing through long centuries of growth. The results appeared to be disappointing to those who looked on the experiment with friendly eyes; and appeared in critical eyes in many instances grotesque. As the education of the negro under slavery had principally been the discipline of work, so now it was assumed that his training in industry would abide with him and that he needed no pedagogy in that direction. The result of this error was to create a body of opinion in the South that education so-called was spoiling the negro as a laborer and not fitting him for anything else. Both the mistakes above mentioned abounded until it was seen that the need of the negro race was not so much a reversal of that education

which began under slavery as a system that would supplement and develop it. Time forbids the definition and description of the new thought in education; but it is embodied in Hampton and Tuskegee as concrete examples. They are the pioneers blazing out the path and pointing the way. Their education is both academic and industrial, with the emphasis strongly on the latter, in view of present conditions and needs.

Finally the Southern Educational Conference and the Southern Education Board came into life by the natural and unstudied law of growth, and their unique mission has been to bring the problem of education at the South, including, of course, the education both of the whites and negroes, into the national consciousness in a rational form.

Nowhere has the wisdom of this movement been better exemplified than in the characteristic thought that while the problem affects the nation, it chiefly concerns and must be chiefly worked out by the people who are at closest range. If those of other sections wonder that we in the South hesitate to apply educational principles that seem truisms elsewhere, they may profitably remember that we are in immediate contact with the painful and depressing elements of the problem which do not meet their vision—vast shiftlessness, vice and crime. Despite all this, we will not be pessimists; we cannot quite be optimists, but we are left the healthy-minded and hopeful resource of being meliorists, with faith in God and in the improvability of all His creatures.

The Problem Remanded to the South.—The nation has in fact remanded the solution of the negro problem, including, of course, the problem of education, to the South. There were days when the Southern section of our country was threatened with Force bills and similar legislation. In those days our people feared that they would have cause to say to the Government, in the words of Grattan: "You have sown your laws like dragons' teeth and they have sprung up armed men." Happily, the danger was averted, but while it was threatening there were utterances in the South which might be gathered up from press, pulpit and platform literally by the millions, in which it was said that if the North would only let the South alone, the South would solve the problem in wisdom and in justice. These utterances were sincere and their fulfillment involves not only a plain duty, but also involves the strong point of the South, the

point of honor. The attitude of the people of the North at this juncture cannot be reasonably interpreted as a desertion of the negro; it is due, as Mr. Cleveland said, to a growing confidence in the sincerity and good faith of the "respectable white people of the South." There are some to be found who say, or at least imply, that the South cannot afford to do full justice to the negro in the matter of education. They affect to fear that the result of such a policy will be to bring the negro into dangerous competition with the white race. There is no surer way in which a member of that race can exhibit his unworthiness of the blood in his veins than to entertain an apprehension that the negro can so overcome racial characteristics and the advantage of a start of at least two thousand years as to endanger the supremacy of that race. In contradiction of the apprehension referred to, I would say that the only thing which the South cannot afford in its relation to the negro race, is injustice.

All history teaches that injustice injures and deteriorates the individual or nation that practices it, while on the other hand, it develops patience—the nerve of the soul—tenacity and strength in the man or the people upon whom it is inflicted. There is nothing new in this doctrine. Plato said: "Better is the case of him who suffers injustice than the case of him who does it." In "The Republic" he rises to this climax: "Injustice makes a man or a society the enemy of all just men and above all of the gods, whose friends are the just alone." This is a magnificent statement of the existence of a moral order in the world. No member of the white race who shares its instinct of self-preservation should be willing, even on selfish considerations, to see the moral order which rules in the world driven to take the part of the other race. This and this alone would endanger the supremacy of the white race. This will not happen: for the South is ready to bring to this problem not only a spirit of justice, but of tenderness. I do not mean ideal justice, for this would be impossible, all at once, between races that had lately sustained the relation of master and slave, but I mean such approximation to justice as is possible for sincere and good men under the limitations of the case. In claiming an element even of tenderness in the spirit of the South, I am aware that this is not easily understood by those of other sections who have dealt only with "casual servants, querulous, sensitive, and lodged for a day in

a sphere they resent"; but there is a tenderness born of old Southern traditions drawn in with mother's milk, a feeling which survived the unspeakable indignities of reconstruction, and will outlive the irritations of the present and future.

What the South Has Done.—The next proposition to be affirmed is that the South has done much for the education of the negro and will take no backward step in this direction. The high authority of the United States commissioner of education is cited in support of the fact that since 1870 the South has disbursed for negro education \$109,000,000 (Report of 1899-1900, Vol. 2, p. 2501). For every dollar contributed by the philanthropy of the North for this purpose, the South, out of her poverty, has contributed four dollars. It cannot be truthfully claimed that all the people of the Southern states are pleased with this situation. It must be frankly admitted that a very considerable number, though a minority, are restive under it. It can be asserted, however, that the leaders of thought among the people are the friends of negro education. This statement is sustained by a recent symposium in which the views of prominent Southern men were expressed. There have been some suggestions to limit the funds for negro education to the taxes raised from the property of the negroes. This suggestion I learn has been put forward in North Carolina, but has been overwhelmed with confusion. It commanded more support in Florida, but has been defeated. I recently received a letter from a leading public man in Georgia, one of the strongest members of the present general assembly, in which he said: "If you should attend the educational meeting in Richmond and the question of this legislation should be broached, you can safely say to the conference that this particular bill" (to limit the funds for negro education to the taxes raised from that race) "will never become a law."

To say that the South will take no backward step in this matter is to say that negro education will share in all the increase of public taxation from the rapidly developing wealth of the section. The policy of separate schools will, of course, be maintained; and it is gratifying that this is not only the settled purpose of the whites, but that the intelligent negroes are coming to see that any blending of the races would be between the higher types of their people and the lower types of the white race, and that co-education of the races or any other intermingling is not to be desired from the point of

view of the best interests of the negro race. A significant utterance was made at a recent state convention of county superintendents of education, in Macon, Ga., on April 14, 1903. The speaker was one of the ablest and most highly esteemed judges of the superior courts of the state. He advocated compulsory education, upon the ground that the doctrine of public education logically required this measure for its completion. He realized that the sensitive point in the discussion was the relation of the question to the negro.

By way of anticipating possible objections, he delicately intimated that doubtless in the actual execution of the law, white officials would be more zealous to enforce it among the whites than among the blacks, but he added that this policy could not be depended on to affect the case to any large extent, because the negroes are making more efforts than the whites for the education of their children. He referred to sections where illiteracy among the negroes was decreasing and where illiteracy among the whites was increasing. After considering the question in its various lights, the speaker boldly declared that in spite of all objections that might be raised on the score of the negro, he favored compulsory education.

Agricultural Education.—Negro education must be specialized to meet actual conditions. It must be adapted to meet industrial and agricultural needs. This does not mean that the three R's are not to be taught in the schools. The negro citizen needs primary education for the purposes described by Thomas Jefferson in his statement on this subject, which may be regarded as classic and final. Recently the largest and most successful farmer in Georgia, one who started thirty years ago without capital and has made himself a millionaire, who now works more than a thousand hands upon his place, and certainly knows as much as any one else on the subject of the negro laborer, was speaking about the kind of negro laborers who were the most valuable. He said emphatically: "I want a hand in the field to whom I can send a written inquiry or direction as to his work and who can return to me in writing an intelligent response." The common school education is not, therefore, to be supplanted; unquestionably it should be supplemented for the great masses of the negroes, with manual and agricultural training.

As far back as 1871, General Armstrong, a veritable seer, realized this truth in its application to the negro people. His words have recently been quoted by his worthy successor as still express-

ing the method and aim of the schools of 1902. He said: "The temporary salvation of the colored race for some time to come is to be won out of the ground." Mrs. Doubleday, in her plea for nature study, estimates that 85 per cent of those engaged in gainful occupations in the South are engaged in agriculture. If I knew any method of making these statistics sensational, I would adopt it in order to emphasize the tremendous and pathetic significance of the situation—four-fifths of all the people engaged in one form of earning a living and the education of this enormous number unrelated to their life-work! Not only unrelated in any helpful way; but in the past, the traditional method of training in the schools has actually tended to educate the children away from the soil. The illustrations in the text-books, both pictorial and otherwise, the heroes whose exploits affect the childish imagination, the description of countries by their capitals and great cities, the very "sums" that are given in the arithmetics, all tend to turn the child's heart from rural life to the city. Under normal conditions, the first kindling of childish ambition in a boy ought to be a stimulus to rise in his condition: in the case of the country boy, this stimulus presents itself in the form of an ambition to *get away from* his condition. The exodus from the country to the city cannot be arrested unless this whole tendency be changed and there must be found a new line of teaching which will fix the affection upon the soil. "Where their treasure is there will their hearts be also." If it be true that "the function of education in a democratic society is to lift the whole population to a higher level of intelligence and well-being," then the education which concerns the interests of 85 per cent of the population is of transcendent importance. My conviction is that the most urgent demand upon educational philanthropy and pedagogic genius in the South lies in the direction of relating education to the life and work of the agricultural masses.

Higher Education.—The foregoing contentions are not in antagonism to the higher education of the negro, or rather, to be exact, of the limited number who are capable of receiving and using for their own advantage and the advantage of their race the higher education. The fact that for so many years Northern philanthropy concerned itself exclusively with negro colleges in the South was unfortunate in its sectional implications; and yet we do not find it in our heart to begrudge one dollar of the millions that have been

given to negro institutions. The race must have its preachers and teachers—its leaders of thought. The higher education is necessary in order that the “lower” education suitable for the masses may be rationally planned and conducted. Those who are qualified for professional life as lawyers and physicians ought to have the opportunity for their training. It seems to me that the stoniest heart cannot withhold sympathy for the sad lot of the exceptionally gifted negro. His life, North or South, involves many painful experiences; but, for all that, no one would seek to suppress his education as a means of promoting his happiness. We cannot too often say with Dr. Curry: “Ignorance is not a remedy for anything.”

The most vivid concrete illustration of the progress of the negro in higher education was the Negro Young People’s Christian and Educational Conference at Atlanta, August 6-10, 1902. It numbered delegates from all the Southern states. On the program were M. A.’s, Ph. D.’s, D. D.’s, and bishops. There were so many D. D.’s as to remind one of Richelieu’s threat that he would make so many dukes in France that it would be equally a disgrace to be one and a disgrace not to be one. The program included all topics related to the development of the negro race. Many thousands attended. Although they filled the street cars to overflowing, crowding out the citizens, yet so admirable was the conduct of the crowds and so satisfied were the people of Atlanta with the high character and usefulness of the conference that they cheerfully submitted to the inconvenience, and the city dailies were unstinted in their praises of the conference, the speakers, and the audiences. A pessimist who doubted the progress of the negro race would have been convinced against his will by witnessing the convention and reflecting that only thirty-seven years had elapsed since these people were unlettered slaves. If I were asked to point out the high-water mark of negro progress, I should not hesitate to say that it was at this Atlanta conference, at the point where, under the general topic “What Improvements Can be Made in the Religious Worship of the Churches,” the subject of revivals was under review.

To be sure, there was no one there to agree with Dr. G. Stanley Hall that conversion is a phenomenon of adolescence; or to analyze it psychologically in connection with the subliminal consciousness, as Professor William James has recently done in his “Varieties of Religious Experience”; but while the discussion assumed the pres-

ence of the Divine element in religious life, it was frankly recognized that nervous excitement played too large a part in negro revivals and its disturbing influence was unanimously deprecated.

In the education of the negro, provision should be made for ethical teaching. The objections both from evangelical and non-religious sources to the introduction of moral training in the public schools are rapidly diminishing in intensity. This topic cannot be developed here; but the reasons why ethical education is specially needed by the negro lie on the surface of the case.

Uncle Tom's Cabins.—Three periods of the history of negro education may be expressed in terms of the title of the book which had so great an influence on the slavery issue. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" may not be read by future generations, but it will always be referred to as a great historical document. For that reason I am glad that in its pages only one cruel slaveholder is portrayed and he was not a Southern man. The period of slavery, then, may be described as Uncle Tom in His Owner's Cabin.

In the second period we see Uncle Tom without a Cabin. This period presents the era of reconstruction, when alien adventurers foisted into power on the shoulders of the black masses, played such fantastic tricks before high heaven in the name of government as the world has never witnessed since the days of Masaniello. During this period the negro was more nearly a slave of selfish and cruel masters than ever before. He was promised forty acres and a mule, but he got neither these things nor any value received; so that the era is not inaptly described as Uncle Tom without a Cabin.

The third era is that which is being ushered in under the wise leadership of Booker Washington, when the negro is becoming a home-maker, bound to the soil, a good citizen. There is no race problem as between the good citizens of the South among the whites and the good citizens of the South among the blacks. The solution then of the negro problem so far as we can see it within that immediate future which may be forecast from the past and the present, and beyond the limits of which it is idle for us to seek to penetrate, is Uncle Tom in His Own Cabin, or I should prefer to say, in his own Home.

PERSONAL NOTES

University of Arkansas.—Dr. Charles Hillman Brough, formerly professor of economics and sociology in Mississippi College, was recently elected to the same chair in the University of Arkansas. Dr. Brough is a Mississippian by birth and is twenty-seven years of age. He received his bachelor's degree from Mississippi College in 1894, and afterwards pursued a two years' law course in the University of Mississippi. In 1897 he held the fellowship in economics at Johns Hopkins University, receiving his doctor's degree from that institution in 1898, and in 1902 he received the degree of LL. B. from the University of Mississippi.

Dr. Brough has written:

"Irrigation in Utah." 1898.

"The History of Banking in Mississippi."

"Taxation in Mississippi." Published as part of an extra volume of the Johns Hopkins Studies.

Bowdoin College.—Dr. Roswell C. McCrea¹ has recently been appointed Daniel B. Fayerweather professor of political economy and sociology at Bowdoin College.

University of Colorado.—Dr. Frederic Logan Paxson has received the appointment as assistant professor of history in the University of Colorado. He was born February 23, 1877, at Philadelphia, Pa., receiving his early education in the Friends' Central School of that city. Dr. Paxson entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1894, receiving the degree of B. S. in 1898; 1898-1899 he was scholar in history and economics. During the year 1901-1902 he studied at Harvard, receiving the degree of A. M. in 1902. From 1902-1903 Dr. Paxson was Harrison fellow in American history in the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he received his Ph. D. degree in 1903. He was instructor in history at the Michigan Military Academy, Orchard Lake, 1899-1900, and at the Blee Military Academy, Macon, Mo., 1900-1901. He is a member of the American Historical Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Dr. Paxson has written:

"Franchise Legislation in Missouri." Annals of the American Academy, May, 1901.

"The Independence of the South American Republics: A Study in Recognition and Foreign Policy." 1903.

University of Denver.—Dr. Frank Hunt Hurd Roberts has been appointed professor of history in the University of Denver. He was born April 1, 1869, at Mt. Vernon, Knox County, O. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Knox County. In 1892 he received the degree of Ph. B. and B. Ped. from the Ohio University, A. M. from Kenyon College in 1896 and Ph. D. from the University of Denver in 1903. Dr.

¹ Vol. xx, p. 634, November, 1902.

Roberts has been principal of High School, New Vienna, O., superintendent of schools in three Ohio cities, professor of education University of Wyoming, assistant professor of mathematics Wyoming State Agricultural College, and principal of the Wyoming State Normal School. He is a member of the American Historical Society.

Dr. Roberts has published:

"A Comparative Study of the Governments of Wyoming and the United States."

"Civil Government of Ohio."

"Civil Government of Wyoming."

Harvard University.—Dr. Charles J. Bullock² has been made assistant professor of political economy at Harvard University, having held the chair of Orvin Sage professor of political economy at Williams College since 1902. Since September, 1899, Dr. Bullock has written:

"Essays in the Monetary History of the United States." 1900.

"Trust Literature: A Survey and Criticism." Quarterly Journal of Economics, February, 1901.

"Direct Taxes and the Federal Constitution." Yale Review, February-August, 1901.

"Trusts and Public Policy." Atlantic Monthly, June, 1901.

"The Theory of the Balance of Trade." North American Review, July, 1901.

"The Variation of Productive Forces." Quarterly Journal of Economics, August, 1902.

"The Growth of Federal Expenditures." Political Science Quarterly, March, 1903.

"Concentration of Banking Interests in the United States." Atlantic Monthly, August, 1903.

Dr. Edwin Francis Gay has been advanced to the position of assistant professor of economics in Harvard University. He was born in Detroit, Mich., October 27, 1867, was educated in private schools abroad and in the Ann Arbor High School. He entered the University of Michigan in 1886, receiving the degree of A. B. in 1890. Dr. Gay then went abroad, studying in the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin from 1890-1894. After this he spent several years in research in the London Record Office and the British Museum. In 1902 he received from the University of Berlin the degree of Ph. D.

Dr. Gay published a paper in the Transactions of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume XIV, and has in press in Germany a monograph to appear as one of Schmoller's Forschungen.

Indiana University.—Dr. William A. Rawles,³ who was made assistant professor of economics and social science in Indiana University in 1902, has just been advanced to the rank of associate professor of economics and social science.

Kansas State Agricultural College.—Mr. Ralph Ray Price has been elected to the chair of history and economics in the Kansas State Agricultural

²Vol. xiv, p. 224, September, 1899.

³Vol. xiv, p. 349, November, 1899.

College, Manhattan. He was born on March 6, 1872, in Douglas County, Kansas, where he obtained his early education. He received the degree of A. B. from Baker University, Baldwin, in 1896, and M. A. from the University of Kansas in 1898. He attended the summer sessions of the University of Chicago in 1899, Wisconsin, 1901, and Cornell, 1902. Mr. Price was instructor in English history in the University of Kansas, 1897-1901; teacher of history and civics, Lawrence High School, 1898-1901, and Ishpeming High School, Michigan, 1901-1902; teacher of history in Rockford High School, Illinois, 1902-1903.

University of Minnesota.—Dr. Frank L. McVey, who has held the chair of professor of private economics since June, 1900, has had his title changed to professor of political economy. The last notice concerning Professor McVey appeared in *THE ANNALS* for September, 1900,⁴ since which time he has written:

"Shipping Subsidies." Journal of Political Economy, December, 1900.

"The History and Government of Minnesota." 1901.

"The Frye Bill." Yale Review, May, 1902.

"The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Subsidies." Journal of Political Economy, June, 1903.

Montana State Normal College.—Dr. Henry Huntington Swain has been made professor of economics and sociology in the Montana State Normal College. He was born in Providence, R. I., March 29, 1863, and educated in the public schools of Fairfield, Ia., and Beloit, Wis. He received from Beloit College in 1884 the degree of A. B. During the years 1893-1894 and 1895-1897 he was a student at the University of Wisconsin, receiving the degree of Ph. D. in 1897. During 1895 he attended the University of Chicago. Dr. Swain was headmaster, Markham Academy, Milwaukee, in 1887; professor of economics and history, Yankton College, 1887-1895; fellow in economics, University of Wisconsin, 1893-1894, during which time he had leave of absence from Yankton College; University Extension lecturer in economics, Wisconsin, 1895-1897; professor of history and economics, Montana State Normal School, 1898-1901. In 1903 the Montana State Normal School was changed to the Montana State Normal College, of which Dr. Swain is president. He is a member of the American Economic Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Dr. Swain's published works are:

"A Forward Move in Historical Study." Kingdom, February 3, 1893.

"The Teaching of Civics." American Journal of Politics, July, 1894.

"The Economics of the Department Store." Kingdom, March 19, 1897.

"The Church Fathers on the Nature of Property." Bibliotheca Sacra, October, 1897.

"Economic Aspects of Railroad Receiverships." 1898.

"Assessment of Real Estate." Chicago Economist, February, 1898.

"Comparative Statistics of Railroad Rates." American Statistical Association, September, 1898.

"The Chicago Trust Conference." Progress, October, 1899.

⁴Vol. xvi, p. 280.

"*Trusts and a Stable Currency.*" Proceedings of the Chicago Conference on Trusts, 1899.

"*Postal Savings Banks.*" Journal of the Switchmen's Union of North America, April, 1900.

"*Gold Production Wholly Speculative.*" Money, May, 1900.

"*Postal Telegraph.*" Journal of the Switchmen's Union of North America, June, 1900.

"*Postal Express.*" Ibid., September, 1900.

"*Local Government in Montana.*" Bulletin of the Montana State Normal School, March, 1901; August and October, 1902.

"*Montana Civics.*" 1903.

University of Pennsylvania.—Dr. Herman V. Ames^a has been appointed assistant professor in American history in the University of Pennsylvania. Since 1897 he has been instructor and lecturer in history in the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Ames has held the following offices in educational or historical societies:

Secretary of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools for the Middle States and Maryland since 1900 to date.

Member of the executive committee of the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States since 1902.

Adjunct member of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, 1900-1902, and chairman of the same commission since 1902.

Chairman of the committee on free public lectures given by the University of Pennsylvania in the public schools of Philadelphia.

Since 1896 Dr. Ames has published the following:

* "*A Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature on Additional Amendments to the Federal Constitution, 1790.*" with notes. The American Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 1.

"*The Proposed Amendments of the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of Its History.*" (Awarded the American Historical Association Prize, 1896.) Washington, 1897, pp. 442. (American Historical Association Report for 1896, Vol. II.)

"*Outline of Lectures on American Political and Institutional History during the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods.*" With references for collateral reading. Philadelphia, 1898. Pp. 68.

The same. Revised edition, Philadelphia, 1902. Pp. 95.

"*The X Y Z Letters.*" (Translations and Reprints. Vol. VI, No. 2. Edited with Professor John Bach McMaster.) Philadelphia, 1899.

"*Pennsylvania and the English Government, 1699-1704.*" The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, April, 1900. Pp. 61-80.

"*State Documents on Federal Relations: The States and the United States.*" Edited with notes:

No. 1. "*Interpretation of the Constitution During the First Two Decades of Its History, 1789-1809.*" Philadelphia, 1900.

^a Vol. viii, p. 358, September, 1896.

No. 2. "*State Rights and the War of 1812.*" (1809-1815.) Philadelphia, 1900.

No. 3. "*The Reserved Rights of the States and the Jurisdiction of Federal Courts, 1819-1832.*" Philadelphia, 1901.

No. 4. "*The Tariff and Nullification, 1820-1832.*" Philadelphia, 1902.

No. 5. "*Slavery and the Constitution.*" In preparation.

"*Report on the Public Archives of Pennsylvania.*" (With Dr. L. S. Shimmell.) Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1900. Vol. II, pp. 267-293.

"*Report on the Public Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia.*" (With Dr. Albert E. McKinley.) *Ibid.* for 1901. Vol. II, 231-344.

"*Editor of the Annual Proceedings of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools for the Middle States and Maryland, for the Years 1900, 1901 and 1902.*" Albany, N. Y., 1901, 1902, 1903.

Dr. William E. Lingelbach has been advanced to the position of assistant professor of modern history in the University of Pennsylvania. He was born at Hamburg, Ontario, Canada, March 17, 1871, and attended the local grammar school and the Collegiate Institute at Stratford, Ontario. He entered the University of Toronto in 1891, receiving the degree of A. B. in 1894. From 1894-1895 he was fellow at the University of Toronto; 1895-1896 graduate student at the University of Leipzig, and from 1897-1898 at the University of Chicago; 1899-1900 Harrison fellow in history at the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he took his Ph. D. degree in 1901. Dr. Lingelbach was instructor in history at the Orchard Lake Military Academy, 1898-1899, and instructor in modern history at the University of Pennsylvania, 1900-1903. He is a member of the American Historical Association, the Pennsylvania Historical Society and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Dr. Lingelbach has published the following works:

"*The Doctrine and Practice of Intervention in Europe.*" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1900.

"*The Laws, Customs and Ordinances of the Merchant Adventurers of England.*" 1901.

"*The Internal Organization of the Merchant Adventurers Society.*" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1902; since published separately with bibliography.

Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.—Mr. William Hyde Price has been appointed lecturer in economics at Tufts College. He was born at Titusville, Crawford County, Pa., February 21, 1880. He attended the high school at Jamestown, N. Y., entering Tufts College in 1897 and receiving his A. M. degree in 1901. In 1902 Mr. Price received the degree of A. M. from Harvard, where he has since carried on graduate work. He is a member of the American Economic Association.

University of Vermont.—Mr. Henry Bigelow Shaw has received an appointment as instructor in commercial law in the University of Vermont. He was born in Burlington, Chittenden County, Vt., November 30, 1873. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Burlington. In 1892

Mr. Shaw entered the University of Vermont, receiving the degree of Ph. B. in 1896. The degree of LL. B. was conferred upon him by Harvard in 1900. From 1900-1902 he practiced law in Detroit, also in Burlington.

Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.—Mr. Walter Robinson Smith has been appointed instructor in history at Washington University. He was born January 31, 1875, at Pratherlyville, Clay County, Mo., and received his early education in the public school of Excelsior Springs, Mo. He attended the Missouri Valley College at Marshall from 1894-1899, receiving the degree of Ph. B. from that institution in 1899. Mr. Smith was a student at the University of Chicago from 1900-1902, taking the degree of Ph. M. in 1901 and holding a fellowship in history, 1901-1902. During 1902-1903 he studied at Harvard. Mr. Smith was also instructor in history in the Missouri Valley College, 1898-1899, and principal of Eastwood School, Marshall, Mo., 1899-1900.

Wells College.—Dr. Agnes Hunt has accepted the position of instructor in history at Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. She was born April 1, 1876, at Manchester, N. H., and received her early education in the public schools of that place. She entered Smith College in 1893, graduating in 1897 with the degree of A. B. Dr. Hunt was a student at Yale University from 1897-1900, receiving the Ph. D. degree in 1900. Since 1900 she has been teaching in the College for Women, Western Reserve University. Dr. Hunt was also a resident and worker at the Goodrich Social Settlement of Cleveland. She is a member of the American Historical Association.

Dr. Hunt this fall will publish a book on the "*Provincial Committees of Safety in the American Revolution.*"

West Virginia University.—Mr. Walter L. Fleming* has received the appointment of associate professor of history at West Virginia University. Professor Fleming has recently published:

"*The Churches of Alabama During the Civil War and Reconstruction.*" Gulf States Historical Magazine, September, 1902.

"*Military Government in Alabama, 1865-1866.*" American Historical Magazine, April, 1903.

"*Military Government in Alabama under the Reconstruction Acts.*" American Historical Magazine, July, 1903.

"*The Peace Movement in Alabama During the Civil War. I. Party Politics, II. The Peace Society.*" South Atlantic Quarterly, April and July, 1903.

"*The Prescript of Ku Klux Klan.*" Publications of the Southern Historical Association, September, 1903.

"*Formation of the Union League in Alabama.*" Gulf States Historical Magazine, September, 1903.

Yale University.—Dr. William Bacon Bailey has received the appointment of assistant professor in political economy at Yale College. He was born May 7, 1873, at Springfield, Mass., and received his early education at the Springfield Collegiate Institute and the Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. Dr. Bailey entered Yale College in 1890, receiving from that institution

* Vol. xx. p. 628, November, 1902.

the degree of B. A., and from 1894 to 1896 he pursued graduate study there, receiving the degree of Ph. D. in the latter year. He was assistant in political economy at Yale during the year 1897-1898. During the next five years he was instructor in statistics, and also from 1901 to the present time instructor in sociology at the Yale Divinity School. He is a member of the American Economic Association.

Dr. Bailey has written:

"*Some of the Contributions of Militancy to the Industrial Arts.*" Yale Review, November, 1897.

"*Personal Budgets of Unmarried Persons.*" Yale Review, May, 1901.

"*Suicide in the United States, 1897-1901.*" Yale Review, May, 1903.

Dr. Guy S. Callender has been appointed professor of political economy at the Sheffield Scientific School, of Yale University. He has recently published in the Quarterly Journal of Economics an article on "*The Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations.*"

Dr. James Elbert Cutler has recently been appointed instructor in social science at Yale University. Dr. Cutler was born January 24, 1876, at Princeville, Ill., and attended the public school of that place and the State Preparatory School at Boulder, Col. He entered the University of Colorado in 1896 and obtained from that institution the degree of B. A. in 1900. From 1900-1903 he was a graduate student at Yale University, obtaining in 1903 the degree of Ph. D. During Dr. Cutler's senior year in the University of Colorado he filled a vacancy for six months as instructor in English in the State Preparatory School of Colorado and during 1902-1903 he was assistant to Professor W. G. Sumner at Yale University. He also was secretary of the Anthropology Club at Yale University during 1902-1903.

Dr. Cutler has written an article on "*Tropical Acclimatization*" in the American Anthropologist, July-September, 1902.

Mr. Hugh Rankin has been appointed assistant in economics at Yale University. Mr. Rankin was born in May, 1881, at Nassau, N. Y., and obtained his early education in the public and private schools of that place. He entered Yale College and received the degree of B. A. in 1903.

IN ACCORDANCE with our custom we give below a list of the students in Political and Social Science and allied subjects on whom the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred at the close of or during the last academic year.¹

University of Chicago.—Charles Criswell Arbuthnot, S. B. Thesis: *The Development of the Corporation and the Entrepreneur Function.*

¹ Vol. xvi, p. 273, September, 1900.

² See ANNALS, vol. i, p. 293, for academic year, 1889-90; vol. ii, p. 253, for 1890-91; vol. iii, p. 241, for 1891-92; vol. iv, p. 312 and p. 466, for 1892-93; vol. v, p. 282 and p. 419, for 1893-94; vol. vi, p. 300 and p. 482, for 1894-95; vol. viii, p. 364, for 1895-96; vol. x, p. 256, for 1896-97; vol. xii, p. 262 and p. 411, for 1898-99; vol. xiv, p. 227, for 1899-1900; vol. xvi, p. 283, for 1900-01; vol. xviii, p. 306, for 1901-02; vol. xx, p. 406, for 1902-03.

Ralph Charles Henry Catterall, A. B. Thesis: *The Second United States Bank.*

Regina Katherine Crandall, A. B. Thesis: *Genet's Mission.*

Elmer Cummings Griffith, A. B. Thesis: *The Rise and Development of the Gerrymander.*

Stephen Butler Leacock, A. B. Thesis: *The Doctrine of Laissez Faire.*

Jeremiah Simeon Young, A. M. Thesis: *The Cumberland Road.*

Columbia University.—Horace Mann Conaway, A. M. Thesis: *The Origin of the First French Republic.*

Alvin Saunders Johnson, A. M. Thesis: *Rent in Modern Economic Theory.*

Samuel Peter Orth, S. B. Thesis: *Centralization of Administration in Ohio.*

William A. Rawles, A. M. Thesis: *Centralizing Tendencies in the Administration of Indiana.*

Robert Perry Shepherd, A. M. Thesis: *Turgot and the Six Edicts.*

William Roy Smith, A. M. Thesis: *South Carolina: A Royal Province.*

David Yancey Thomas, A. M. Thesis: *Military Government in the United States Prior to the Civil War.*

Stephen Francis Weston, A. M. Thesis: *Justice in Taxation.*

Cornell University.—Robert Clarkson Brooks, A. B. Thesis: *The History of the Street and Rapid Transit Railways of New York City.*

George Matthew Dutcher, A. B. Thesis: *The Deputies on Mission During the Reign of Terror.*

Edwin Walter Kemmerer, A. B. Thesis: *Money and Credit Instruments in Their Relation to General Prices.*

Harvard University.—George Hubbard Blakeslee, A. M. Thesis: *The History of the Anti-Masonic Party.*

Augustus Hunt Shearer, A. M. Thesis: *The History of Political Parties in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790.*

Illinois Wesleyan University.—Charles M. Olmstead, A. M. Thesis: *The Spanish-American War.*

Edwin Andrew Palmer, S. B., A. M. Thesis: *Woman as a Wage Earner.*

Adam Pickett, Ph. M. Thesis: *The Anti-Slavery Movement Prior to 1890.*

Johns Hopkins University.—Elbert Jay Benton, A. B. Thesis: *The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest.*

Yukimasa Hattori. Thesis: *The Foreign Commerce of Japan since the Restoration.*

Roland Jessop Moulford, A. B. Thesis: *The Political Theories of Alexander Hamilton.*

University of Michigan.—Kakujiro Akamatsu, A. B. Thesis: *The Financial Development of Japan since 1868.*

Harrison S. Smalley, A. B. Thesis: *The Legal Aspect of Railroad Control.*

University of Minnesota.—John Copeland, A. M. Thesis: *The Constituent Elements of the Population of the State of Minnesota.*

University of Nebraska.—Charles S. Lobingier, A. M., LL. B. Thesis: *Ratification of State Constitutions of the United States.*

University of Pennsylvania.—Henry Reed Burch, S. B. Thesis: *Conditions Affecting the Suffrage in Colonies.*

Christian Carl Carstens, A. M. Thesis: *Endowments: A Study of Certain American Bequests.*

Carl Kelsey, A. B. Thesis: *The Negro as an Industrial Factor.*

Edith Katherine Lyle, M. L. Thesis: *The Work of the Bishops in England in the Fourteenth Century.*

Frederic Logan Paxson, S. B. Thesis: *The Independence of the Spanish South-American Republics.*

Helen Gertrude Preston, Ph. B. Thesis: *Rural Conditions in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.*

George Winfield Scott, A. B., LL. B. Thesis: *The Law of International Private Claims.*

Joseph Russell Smith, S. B. Thesis: *The Organization of Commerce.*

University of Wisconsin.—Anna Yeomans Reed, A. M. Thesis: *The Revolution in Hawaii.*

Margaret Anna Schaffner, A. M. Thesis: *The Labor Contract with Special Reference to Collective Bargaining in the United States.*

Henry Charles Taylor, S. M. Thesis: *The Decline of Land-Ownning Farmers in England.*

Yale University.—James Elbert Cutler, A. B. Thesis: *Lynch Law: An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States.*

William Spence Robertson, B. L. Thesis: *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America.*

FOR THE academic year 1903-04, appointments to fellowships and post-graduate scholarships have been made in the leading American colleges, as follows:

Bryn Mawr College.—*Fellowship in History*, Grace Albert, A. M. *Scholarships, in Economics*, Sara Henry Stites, A. M.; *in History*, Helen Henry Hodge, A. M.

University of Chicago.—*University Fellowships, in History*, Frances Gardiner Davenport, Marcus Wilson Jernegan, Edward Benjamin Krehbiel, William Ray Manning, George Lane Melton; *in Political Economy*, Edith Abbott, William Jett Lauck, John Giffin Thompson, Murray Shipley Wildman; *in Political Science*, Frederick Dennison Bramhall, Walter Fairleigh Dodd, Ira Calvert Hamilton.

Columbia University.—*University Fellowships, in American History*, Paul Leland Haworth, A. M., J. Homer Reed, A. B.; *in European History*, Ralph Barlow Page, A. M.; *in Economics*, Charles Emil Stangeland, A. M.; *in Sociology*, Allen Barber Eaton, Ph. B., A. M.; *in Statistics*, David Laforest Wing, S. B. *Honorary Fellowships, in European History*, William Kenneth

Boyd, A. M.; in *Sociology*, Michael Marks Davis, Jr., A. B.; *Schiff Fellowship*, Preserved Smith, A. M.; *President's University Scholarships*, in *American History*, Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, A. M.; in *Comparative Jurisprudence*, William Underhill Moore, A. M., LL. B.; in *Economics*, Harry Theodore Johnson, A. B.; *University Scholarships*, in *American History*, Austin Baxter Keep, A. M., Robert Livingston Schuyler, A. B.; in *Constitutional Law*, Charles Grove Haines, A. B.; in *Economics*, Eugene Ewald Agger, A. M., Edward Hatton Davis, S. B.; in *European History*, Adam Franklin Ross, Ph. B., A. M.; in *Finance*, Guy Edward Snider, B. L., A. M.; in *Political Science*, Henry Lorenzo Janes, B. L., LL. M.; in *Sociology*, Tokichi Kamada, A. B.; *Curtis University Scholarship*, in *Economics*, Mabel Atkinson, A. M.

Cornell University.—*President White Fellowships*, in *History*, Daniel Chauncey Knowlton, A. B.; in *Political Science*, Willard Eugene Hotchkiss, Ph. B., A. M.; *Fellowships*, in *American History*, Ruth Bently, A. B.; in *Political Economy*, Albert Charles Muhse, A. M., George Pendleton Watkins, A. B.; *University Graduate Scholarship*, in *History*, Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, A. B.

Harvard University.—*Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellowship in Constitutional Law*, Walter Harold Claflin, A. M.; *Henry Bromfield Rogers Memorial Fellowship*, Carleton Ames Wheeler, A. B.; *Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellowship in History*, Emerson David Fite, A. B.; *Rogers Fellowship in History*, Roland Greene Maher, A. M.; *Henry Lee Memorial Fellowship in Political Economy*, George Randall Lewis, A. B.; *Robert Treat Paine Fellowships in Social Science*, Edwin De Turek Bechtel, A. B., Frank Harold Lemont, A. B.; *Thayer Scholarship in History and Government*, Walter James Shepard, A. B.; *Townsend Scholarship in History*, Frederic Austin Ogg, A. M.; *University Scholarship in History*, William Chauncey Rice, A. M.; *Austin (Special) Scholarship in Political Economy*, Selden Osgood Martin, A. B.; *Thayer Scholarship in Political Economy*, Edmund Thornton Miller, A. M.; *University Scholarship in Political Economy*, Joseph Clarence Hemmon, A. B.; *Austin Scholarship in Sociology*, Herbert Adolphus Miller, A. M.

University of Illinois.—*University Fellowships*, in *Economics*, L. W. Zartman, A. B.; in *History*, O. N. Dickerson, A. B.

Johns Hopkins University.—*Fellowships*, in *History*, Porter Hollis, A. B.; in *Political Economy*, William Kirk, A. B.; in *Political Science*, James Martin Wright, A. B.; *Hopkins Scholarships*, O. P. Chitwood, A. B., H. W. Early, A. B., H. J. Eckenrode, A. B., H. E. Flack, A. M., H. M. Wagstaff, Ph. B.

University of Missouri.—*Fellowships*, in *Economics*, William T. Nordin, A. B.; in *Political Science and Public Law*, Jacob Chosnoff, A. B.; in *Sociology*, Charles H. Edmondson, A. B.

University of Pennsylvania.—*Harrison Fellowships*, in *American History*, Isaac Joslin Cox, A. B.; in *European History*, Arthur Guy Terry, Ph. M.; *Moore Fellowship in European History*, Ethel Elizabeth Mudie,

A. B.; *Harrison Scholarship in Economics*, Ferdinand Harry Graser, S. B.; *University Scholarships, in European History*, H. C. Bell, W. N. Shuman, Malcolm Graeme Thomas, A. M.; *in Political Science*, Walter Edison Kruesi, S. B.; *in Sociology*, James Bruce Byall, S. B.

Princeton University.—*Boudinot Fellowship in History*, Henry George Weston Young, A. B.; *South East Club University Fellowship in Social Science*, Karl Telford Frederick, A. B.

Syracuse University.—*Mantaugue Fellowship in Social Science*, Mabel Carter Rhoades, Ph. B.

University of Wisconsin.—*Honorary Fellowships, in Economics*, John Franklin Engle, Ph. D., George Reuben Sikes, A. B.; *in History*, Albert Cook Myers, M. L.; *University Fellowships, in American History*, Arthur Clinton Boggess, A. B.; *in Economics*, Arthur Sargent Field, A. B.; *in European History*, Richard Frederick Scholz, A. B.; *in Political Science*, John Walter Gannaway, A. B.; *Scholarships, in American History*, Homer C. Hockett, B. L.; *in Economics*, Helen Laura Sumner, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Chester Lloyd Jones, B. L.

Yale University.—*Eldridge Fellowship in Economics and History*, William L. Patterson, A. B.; *Foote Fellowships, in Economics*, Avarad Longley Bishop, A. B.; *in History*, George Edward Woodbine, A. B.; *Douglass Fellowship in Political and Social Science*, Hugh Rankin, A. B.; *Buckley Fellowship in History*, Anna H. Abel, A. M.; *Fellowships in Economics, Social Science and History*, Gilbert G. Benjamin, Ph. B., Fred R. Fairchild, A. B., William C. Rice, A. M., Lucy E. Textor, Ph. B., A. M.; *Scholarships, in Economics, Social Science and History*, Walter M. Adriance, A. B., Luther Anderson, A. B., Harry Henderson Clark, Peter T. Dondlinger, A. B., Karl K. Kawakami, A. B., Otijero Matsuo, Conrad A. Peterson, A. B., Carl F. Schulz, A. B., Herman J. Thorstenberg, A. B., Clinton F. Zerwick, A. B.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

THE EDITOR OF "Epoch-Making Papers in United States History" has collected a series of the most important American state papers from the Declaration of Independence to Lincoln's Gettysburg address, and accompanies these with an introduction and some thirty pages of notes. His object is to prepare his collection for use in the public schools, and so to render the pupils more familiar with those documents of American history that may truly be characterized as "epoch-making." The volume seems admirably adapted for use in the upper grades of school work.

"THE MANUFACTURE AND PROPERTIES OF IRON AND STEEL"¹ is a supplement to "The Manufacture and Properties of Structural Steel," by the same author, published in 1896. It aims to serve two purposes: (1) To present in readable form the important technical facts of the iron and steel industry, and (2) to discuss the question of international competition. In Parts I and II of the volume, the principal topics treated are the blast furnace, the acid and basic Bessemer and open-hearth processes of steel making, the question of fuel, the heat treatment of steel, the methods of testing steel, and the effect of various elements upon the physical properties of steel. In Part III the position of the leading factors in the world's iron and steel trade is considered, the industry in the United States being compared with that of the iron-producing countries of Europe. The book contains a large amount of statistical matter, and Part III gives an accurate description of the iron and steel industry of the world, this being on the whole more satisfactory than anything hitherto published. The book will be found of great service to the teacher of economics, as well as to all those who are interested, as investors or observers, in the steel trade. Its value to the engineer has been proven by the wide acceptance of the author's former work.

THE SIXTH VOLUME in the Sociological Year-Books, so ably edited by Professor Émile Durkheim, of the University of Bordeaux, has appeared under the title "L'Année Sociologique" (1901-1902),² and contains much valuable and interesting material, fully sustaining the reputation for high-grade work which the earlier numbers of this series have obtained. The usual plan has

¹ Edited by Marshall Stewart Brown. Pp. vi, 207. Price, \$0.25. New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

² By Harry Huse Campbell. Pp. xxxi, 862. Price, \$5.00. New York: The Engineering and Mining Journal, 1903.

³ Pp. 614. Price 12.50 fr. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1903.

been followed, and the first part of the volume is devoted to two original studies covering one hundred and twenty-two pages. The first of these is by the editor himself, in collaboration with Mr. M. Mauss, and treats of the primitive forms of classification, that is, of how human beings develop the idea of group-action, of organization, implying the recognition of authority and the principle of co-operation in the attainment of definite ends. The usual view of psychologists and logicians has been that this is an innate faculty of the understanding. The view taken in this monograph is that these forms are determined through a sort of process of imitation from the form of society itself, that is, the way in which human beings group themselves and the manner of their divisions and sub-divisions, for the most elementary and general collective actions will be found running through every form of collective work, and is determined by the same general considerations that determine such fundamental concepts as those of time and space.

The second monograph presents a general review of the most recent theories of the division of labor, considered both as an economic and social principle. It is by Mr. C. Bouglé, whose works on the social sciences in Germany and on ideas of equality are well known.

The second part, covering 460 pages, contains an analysis of all the important books, monographs, and scientific papers on sociological topics which appeared during the year. This analysis is grouped under seven sections, general sociology (sub-divided into method, social philosophy, ethnological psychology, history of civilization, and history of sociology), religious sociology, juridical and moral sociology, criminology, economic sociology, morphological sociology, and, finally, a miscellaneous section with each of the foregoing sections, containing many sub-divisions.

"THE STORY OF A GRAIN OF WHEAT"⁴ is an account of an industrial process or, rather, of a series of processes, made vivid by language and style that bring to description the relief of narrative and romance. In this portrayal a human interest is engaged which is as universal as the desire for bread. The history of wheat is made a historical presentation of human condition during the tardy development of enlightened production; the "black bread" period, the "yellow bread" period and the "white bread" period, typify social environments which produced these forms of food. It is a successful attempt to popularize exact knowledge—the results of solemn scientific research.

MR. JOSEPH ELKINTON is to be commended for his work, "The Doukhobors."⁵ It is seldom that a work "intended as an appeal" is reliable historically or of special interest to the general reader. In both of these respects Mr. Elkinton's work is an exception. His portrayal of the conditions which gave rise to the "Russian Quakers" and of their pioneer experiences in Canada

⁴By William C. Edgar, editor of the *Northwestern Miller*. Pp. 195. Price \$1.00. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903.

⁵Pp. viii, 336. Price \$2.00. Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1903.

is fascinating. Their ill-adjustment to the conditions of a new continent, and their conflicts with authority, he ascribes to habits formed under an old environment and to ignorance (both of which may be overcome by a few rays of Western enlightenment) rather than to any disposition that will stand permanently in the way of prosperity and good citizenship.

IN AN ESSAY ENTITLED "Empire and Sovereignty,"⁶ Professor Freund discusses a variety of forms of state organization, particularly those of the federal and imperial types, from the point of view of sovereignty, and reaches the conclusion that in scarcely any one of them is a perfect sovereignty co-extensive with its political organization. Beginning with that form which is commonly called the federal state, he says the ingenuity of political writers has been taxed to fit the theory of the sovereignty of such a state to its peculiar structure. His own opinion is that the federal state is not sovereign over its component members because it never imposed its organization upon them by force or against their will, and further because they cannot be destroyed by "federal power." As for the United States and Germany in particular, he points out that certain matters are withdrawn from the power of constitutional amendment. We venture the opinion that Dr. Freund has reached this conclusion (which is not generally the accepted view) from a failure to distinguish between state and government. What he and others call a federal state is one having a dual system of government under a common sovereignty—a sovereignty which stands back of the government, is supreme over the government and legally unlimited. If sovereignty is an essential attribute of every independent state, it is difficult to see how its form of government, whether it be federal or consolidated, can operate either to limit or enlarge its sovereignty. The single limitation upon the sovereignty of the United States which he mentions with regard to the amendment of the Constitution is a self-limitation; that is, it is no limitation at all in law. All other limitations are limitations upon the government and not upon the state.

Dr. Freund reaches substantially the same conclusion with regard to states having autonomous colonies, protectorates or other dependencies. In all these dominions, which include the whole of Australia,—nearly the whole of America and a large part of Asia and Africa, it is a very significant fact, he says, that there is no perfect sovereignty, but only a qualified sovereignty. A full realization of this fact, if it be a fact, must bring a revision of some of the fundamental doctrines of political science.

THE HISTORIAN OF THE MIDDLE AGES and the philosopher will find Professor Harnack's⁷ two lectures on monasticism and St. Augustine a delightful recreation,—profound without being tedious, scholarly without being pedantic, accurate without losing any of the charm that comes from enthusiasm.

⁶ By Ernst Freund. Pp. 32. University of Chicago Decennial Publications, 1903.

⁷ Monasticism: Its Ideals and History (and) The Confessions of St. Augustine. Two lectures by Adolph Harnack. Translated into English by E. K. Kellett, M. A., and F. H. Marseille, Ph. D. Pp. 171. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. London: Williams & Norgate.

Monasticism, says Professor Harnack, is not as old as the Church. It is true that the Church of the fourth century, in which it took shape, thought it found even in the apostolic age essentially similar institutions; but the models which some persons have invoked, and still invoke, as precedents belong chiefly to legend.

Contrary to the tradition of centuries, which has accustomed us to date the first secularization of the Church from the time when, under Constantine, she began to be a state Church, Harnack maintains that in the middle of the third century she was already highly secularized. She had already lowered her standard of life. The strong bond that held her together was no longer a religious system or brotherly love, but a hierarchic system which threatened to stifle not only Christian freedom and independence, but also the very sense of brotherhood. Especially under the influence of Neoplatonism Christianity became a philosophy rather than a religion. But such a Church as this was no longer in a position to give peace to all that came to her, and to shelter them from the world. Then began the great upheaval and man fled not only from the world, but from worldliness in the Church.

After discussing the rise of monasticism in pages which we have summarized above, the author considers the philosophy of monasticism, its ideals and its evolution, comparing the Eastern monasticism with that of the West, and contrasting it with the tenets of modern Protestantism.

The second lecture, that on St. Augustine, is shorter than the first, but characterized by the same broad scholarship, the same subtle psychological analysis and literary polish.*

REV. SAMUEL HEDGES' book on Father Marquette^b is a laudatory but brief and rather unsatisfactory account of the great missionary and explorer. It deals all too sparingly with the events of his busy life. The object of the work is to prove that the town of St. Ignace, Michigan, holds the remains of the picturesque apostle to the Indians. The impression is gained that whatever Marquette's claims on posterity may be, the writer never loses sight of the fact that he was a Jesuit.

JOHNS' TRANSLATION OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI, King of Babylon B. C. 2285-2242,^c is an attempt to put into English a translation more literal than that of Father V. Scheil, and, as the author modestly hopes, better rendered than Dr. H. Winckler's. It is of interest to the student of political science in that it gives evidence of a scheme of law, well formulated and well wrought out, covering most of the activities of a modern society—a commercial code, a social code, and a penal code—a digest of laws already

* Contributed by Prof. C. W. A. Veditz, Bates College.

^b *Jesuit Missionary and Explorer*. The discoverer of the Mississippi. With an introduction by Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J. Pp. 164. Price \$1.00. New York: Christian Press Association Publishing Company, 1903.

^c The oldest code of laws in the world, translated by C. H. W. Johns, M. A., Lecturer in Assyriology, Queen's College, Cambridge. Pp. 88. Price 75 cents. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

for long ages in operation, this digest having been first published four thousand years before political activity and legal establishments became the subject of scientific research.

THE LATEST REPRINT of colonial works in the series published by Humphrey is the account of "The Discoveries of John Lederer," etc.,¹¹ a German explorer, in the colonies of Virginia and Carolina, in the years 1669 and 1670. This is an interesting contemporary account of the character of the country which Lederer explored in three "marches" and of the customs and manners of the Indians of that region. The original work, of which there is a copy in the Harvard University Library, is perhaps sufficiently rare to warrant this reprint, which is neatly executed, and accompanied by a reproduction of the map of "the territory traversed."

"HORACE GREELEY," by William A. Linn,¹² is the third of Appleton's Historic Lives Series. Himself an editor and for a time in personal contact with Mr. Greeley, Mr. Linn's writing carries a sympathy of expression that gives life to the sketch. With Greeley we pass through many crucial experiences, carrying with us the impressions and mental reactions, the prejudices and the strong activities of a man whose influence was second to none, and who possessed abilities equaled by few, in a social and political contest which called away from private engagement and brought into public service the highest talents of nations. The combined qualities of picturesqueness and great personal power, of strong prejudice and high sense of honor, of generosity and impetuosity, make Greeley one of our most interesting public characters. And Mr. Linn has performed well the task of reproducing his leading characteristics.

DR. MEYER IN HIS "RAILWAY LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES"¹³ has added another scholarly contribution to the literature of transportation. His main thesis is Legislation, though he brings in much of historic and economic interest to give it setting. In his introductory part he sets forth "The Significance of Railways," showing their social and economic bearing; "The Characteristics of Railway Legislation," and the necessity for "Economic Adjustment."

Part II presents railway legislation of the United States or the attempt made to bring about this adjustment. This is treated historically and analytically from the "Early Charters" to the "Present General Laws," including "Constitutional Provisions."

Part III has for its subject the "Interstate Commerce Commission," the

¹¹ Collected and translated out of Latine from his Discourse and Writings by Sir William Talbot, Baronet. London, 1672. Reprinted by George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y. 1902. Three hundred copies. Pp. 30. \$2.00.

¹² Pp. xiii, 267. Price \$1.00. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903.

¹³ By B. H. Meyer, Ph. D. Pp. xiv, 320. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Company, 1903.

"Supreme Court" and the "Cullom Bill." To the logically developed treatise outlined is added an appendix, giving an example of "An American Railway Charter," a draft of "Articles of Incorporation under General Laws," "The Massachusetts Commission Law," "The Interstate Commerce Law," and "The Elkins Law," with an interpretation. While the sacrifice of detail and of the concrete in the interest of brevity has left a somewhat heavy literary style, and made the text in places rigid, the student and the man interested in a scientific and reliable presentation of the subject may read Dr. Meyer's book with confidence, and will find in it a well-sustained interest.

"THE HISTORICAL RENAISSANCE" in the State of Mississippi in recent years is substantially evidenced by a recent publication of the Mississippi Historical Society,¹⁴ a volume of nearly 600 pages, with some ten illustrations and maps. Twenty-seven different contributions are included in the contents, all relating to some phase of the history of the state, comprising papers of a military, economic, political, biographical, religious and archaeological character. Several of these are of more than merely local interest, especially six important articles on the political and constitutional history of the state, notably those upon the Secession Convention, the Reconstruction period and the Constitutional Convention of 1890. The longest, as well as one of the most interesting and timely articles, is that upon "Suffrage and Reconstruction in Mississippi," by Hon. Frank Johnston. The first report of the Department of Archives and History is also included in this volume. A great deal of credit should be accorded to Professor Riley, the secretary of the society and the chairman of the state's Historical Commission, for in large part it has been due to his enthusiasm and energy that this lively interest in the history of Mississippi has been aroused and has found expression in the establishment of a Department of Archives and History by the state.¹⁵

"WINTER INDIA,"¹⁶ by Miss Eliza R. Scidmore, is a charming book of travels. Her descriptions have a vividness that enables the reader to see mental pictures quite as clearly as he sees the thirty-four illustrations of the book, and it matters not whether the subject of her pen picture be an inky black native of the Southern Capes or the snow-white Himalayas. Her account of the great empire in the East gives valuable side lights for the economist, the sociologist, and especially for the student of colonial questions, who must know the ways of many types of men.

Those interested in the political aspects of Indian life should read the introductory chapter, which gives a striking picture of the size and complexity of India with its problems and its chaos.¹⁷

¹⁴ Edited by Franklin L. Riley, Secretary. Vol. VI. Pp. 567. Oxford, Miss., 1902.

¹⁵ Contributed by Herman V. Ames.

¹⁶ Pp. xvi, 400. Price, \$2.00. New York: Century Company, 1908.

¹⁷ Contributed by J. Russell Smith.

"THE LETTERS OF DANIEL WEBSTER"¹⁸ as compiled by Professor Van Tyne afford us a broad and interesting view of Webster's personality. Comparatively few are the instances where people of public note write personal letters with the intent that they shall ever become public. Thus we find that a complete collection of letters, written on all varieties of occasions, to people in high and low estate, to people of importance, and to those who are unknown beyond their own neighborhood, to relatives, friends, and enemies, would furnish better material for the estimate of character than most of the writings which were intended for the public eye.

Daniel Webster has a place in American history generally understood to be unique. Biographies have appeared in numbers, estimates of his character have again and again been written, collections of his letters have been published, and his public acts should be known to every schoolboy. Mr. Van Tyne has, at great pains, supplemented the collection of letters before published, and it seems unlikely that anything will be added in this line in the future. The official correspondence of Webster can be obtained, of course, in the archives of the Department of State, but the personal correspondence collected by Mr. Van Tyne gives us an opportunity to see the man as he was to himself and to those who knew him best.

In a volume of nearly eight hundred pages have been collected and classified, not alone letters written by Mr. Webster, but letters written to him, which show, perhaps as clearly as those sent by himself, the general private trend of Mr. Webster's thought, if indeed one may say there was a trend to his thought as revealed in these letters. If one unacquainted with American history, or the name of Webster, were to read the book he might possibly not learn that Webster occupied a position so near to the summit of his ambition. Indeed many of the letters written from Washington, from the Senate, or from the office of the Secretary of State, are such as might have been written by any farmer, manufacturer, or village lawyer. Perhaps there is as wide a difference between the public and private life of all men, yet one is apt to look for a different form of expression, or matter of discussion, in the letters of those who are called great. If the reading of letters is to give us all that can be found in them, perhaps it is best that the work of the editor be not extended too far, and that the letters be reproduced as nearly like those written as print can reproduce handwriting. Abbreviations, misspellings, grammatical mistakes, all those things, in fact, which may be found in a letter never intended for the public eye, will show what could not be shown by the mere words if carefully edited.

We cannot be too thankful to Mr. Van Tyne for his system of classification of the letters. The headings under which the letters are grouped are "Early Life," "Local Politician," "The National Statesman," "Family Relations," "Relations with Friends and Neighbors," "The Farmer of Marshfield," "Intellectual Interests," "The Sportsman," "Personal Finances," "Religious and Moral Character." Of course some who believe criticism to be fault-finding, might easily say that some of the letters belonged under headings

¹⁸ By C. H. Van Tyne, Ph.D. Pp. 769. Price, \$5.00. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902.

where they are not found, but it would take an unusual discernment and remarkable diligence to arrange the more than one thousand letters in a better manner than has been done by Mr. Van Tyne. The editor has suppressed himself except for a preface of ten pages and numerous footnotes, which often throw light upon the ownership of the letters and upon references in the letters which would be otherwise obscure. A few documents which are not letters are included and are not out of place. Notes for some of Mr. Webster's most famous speeches are reproduced. A few extracts from speeches made in the Senate have an added interest from the fact that they are taken from his own handwriting rather than from the official reports.

To comment upon many of the most interesting letters would fill too much space. But among the hundreds which deserve comment, especially interesting is one in February, 1829, in which Webster gives a synopsis of his estimate of General Jackson. No doubt all readers, except those especially studying politics, will be more interested in the letters classified under "Family Relations" and other headings, which include the private character of Mr. Webster. His letters to his children show clearly that he was not so thoroughly absorbed in his public career and his ambition to be President as to forget to discuss with interest the daily school work of his sons or to fulfill his promise of a new hat for his daughter. While it may be noted that the tone of his letters to his first wife differ from that used toward his second wife, it must be admitted that such difference could be amply explained by the different natures of the two women.

The special student and the cultivated reader of American history have great cause to be grateful to Mr. Van Tyne for his volume of "The Letters of Daniel Webster."¹⁹

THE POSSIBLE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF AFRICA assumes a rosier hue with the return of every explorer. "Twixt Sirdar and Menelik,"²⁰ by Captain M. S. Wellby, is the record of a journey from East Africa opposite Aden, across Abyssinia to Lake Rudolph, and down the Nile valley to Khartoum. The traveler, a British officer, thinking of strategy, of hunting and of polo, gives us nevertheless side glimpses of a fine plateau country in Abyssinia. The climate is good and bracing, barley and native grains are cultivated, the native pony is a hardy animal, the native mule is excellent, hogs, cattle and sheep are kept, game abounds, and "immense stretches" of fertile land are covered with six-foot grass and lying idle. All these live-stock possibilities are as near to Europe as are the plains of Wyoming, and can easily be made as available or even more so.

The people of Abyssinia are much praised, and after giving many instances of their amazing generosity, the author declares, "I maintain that in Abyssinia there are just as good men to be found as there are in any other country."

¹⁹ Contributed by George Emory Feliows, Orono, Maine.

²⁰ Pp. xxv, 408. New York: Harner & Brothers.

As might be expected, the low-lying plains around Lake Rudolph and in the valleys tributary to the Nile were found to be far less promising.²¹

"REPUBLICS VERSUS WOMEN"²² is of interest from two standpoints: (1) Because of its form, and (2) because it so aptly represents the feelings of a proud American woman when she is forced to contemplate the mortifications of a woman's social and political position in America. The book is dramatic in effect, for it purports to be a speech made by the writer to a secret society of foreign women of high birth, who wished to elevate humanity by overthrowing aristocracies. In order to save them, and especially a valued friend, from this design, the writer explained in full the political, civil and legal status of women in the United States, thereby making it plain to her hearers that since the first of all republics neglects women, anarchy and socialism, which must of necessity resemble a republic, can only lead to a man government in which women are not recognized. The discourse is lucid, forceful and able. The relation of personal experiences undergone by a well-born American woman in endeavoring to secure recognition adds to the interest. Curious facts are used as illustrations. In view of the accusations regarding women's luxury, it is interesting to know that while New York women spend forty millions in dress, the men spend one hundred and sixty million on alcohol and tobacco and sixty million on clubs and sports, not to mention the millions that go to less reputable pleasures.

"SPAIN AND HER PEOPLE,"²³ by Jeremiah Zimmerman, LL. D., contains, in addition to considerable information needed by the prospective tourist, an interesting study of the Spanish people since the war with the United States. Unfortunately the book is without index or chapter analysis, and the brief titles of chapters are often far from descriptive of the miscellaneous contents. Much history is quoted from secondary sources, and the work appears to be that of a clergyman prone to moralizing and the telling of all that he knows. From many scattered passages one may piece together the following analysis of the Spaniard and his situation.

Backward and poverty-stricken Spain is a product of centuries of misgovernment which still continues, and the priest-ridden people have no faith in the government (an opinion in which the late Dr. J. L. M. Curry concurred). The omnipresent beggar shows evident signs of hunger, and it is estimated that one-half of the population is underfed, and this in a country where hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile soil lie idle and rich minerals are waiting to be mined. Much of the country is deforested waste, but the productions of the soil might be increased 200 per cent if put on a par with France. The laborer is often idle, and the leading citizens have no capital and plan

²¹ Contributed by J. Russell Smith.

²² By Mrs. Kate Woolsey. Pp. xiii, 179. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Grafton Press, 1903.

²³ Pp. 350. Price \$2.00. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

no enterprises. They scorn work, and in their "aristocratic poverty and national pride" they sometimes choose beggary as the more honorable of the two. The great and universal ambition is to wear the brass buttons and uniform of the government employee; 40 per cent of the people are supported by the government in one way or another. Official statistics show less than 30 per cent of population as agriculturists and 26 per cent as industrial. Official salaries are low and speculation is almost necessary as well as universal, and the government is for the favored aristocratic class (caste), who also escape taxation.

In the standing army of 100,000 in time of peace there are "six captain-generals, thirty-nine lieutenant-generals, sixty generals of division, one hundred and sixty brigadier-generals, or one general for every three hundred and seventy soldiers."

The Spaniards believe themselves to be a superior nation but 70 per cent are illiterate; they boast of glory and shun innovations—Spain cannot be excelled. The model for the plow and the cart of the Castilian farmer is still to be seen upon the monuments of Egypt. The few great enterprises are run by the foreigner, and Spain, sleeping under the lock of the Inquisition and dreaming of militant glory, is still in her mediæval period. Modern times may reach her, but they will come from without.*

REVIEWS

Studies in Contemporary Biography. By JAMES BRYCE. Pp. ix, 487. Price, \$3.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

These biographical studies by Mr. Bryce are in the truest sense what the title indicates. They are not biographies as biographies are usually considered, but rather so many clear and appreciative essays on the character and personality of a score of famous Englishmen of the last fifty years. A number of them have appeared in periodicals, but these have not been revised and enlarged for the present volume. The studies begin with Disraeli and conclude with Gladstone. But these two cannot be taken as typical. Among the other names there are only a few of universal reputation. They are for the most part men of eminence in special fields of human activity, and although well known to the specialist, their names are not familiar to the general reader. Such are the historian, E. A. Freeman, and his friend, John Richard Green; William Robertson Smith, well known among Orientalists; Edwin Lawrence Godkin, a striking personality to all Americans and especially to readers of the Nation. Parnell, Cardinal Manning, Dean Stanley, Anthony Trollope, Archbishop Tait and Lord Acton are more generally known. But in T. H. Green, Henry Sidgwick, Bishop Fraser, Robert Lowe, Stafford Henry Northcote, the author again deals with men whose names are not so well known especially outside of England. The same is true of the two eminent representatives of the English Bench, Earl Cairns and Sir George Jessel, while of Edward E.

* Contributed by J. Russell Smith.

Bowen, who was all his life an assistant master at Harrow, even Englishmen have probably not generally heard.

None but a writer of Mr. Bryce's cosmopolitan interest and sympathies could hope to write appreciatively of men so diversified in character, tastes and occupation. Even the advantage of having personally known all but one of them would be found by many an additional difficulty. But whatever the difficulties of the task these do not appear. To the reviewer the pleasure of the reading was such that he has nothing but praise to be said of the biographies. They are charming portraits, giving expression to the deepest and most subtle characteristics, executed with marvelous freedom and technical skill and illumined in the best light of historical perspective.

For this work the author has had exceptional opportunities. He has for years been himself an active and observant participant in public life; like Dean Stanley he has gained much as an historian not only from an intimate knowledge of his own times, but also, and even more largely, from playing an active part in the events of his own time, "from swaying opinions by his writings and speeches" and "from sitting in assemblies." But unlike Stanley, Bryce is thoroughly imbued with the historic spirit. His work is the result of careful investigation and of keen personal observation.

The influence of family and race is never overlooked, and where these have been marked they are constantly used to throw a broader light upon the treatment. Childhood and early youth are in most cases passed over in silence. On the other hand the university life and associations and the trend of the formative influence at work upon the man as an undergraduate are brought out with especial emphasis. That period of life during which theories and views of men and things are formed, and intimate, often valuable friendships made, has a special attraction for the author. Indeed in reading on page 86 in connection with T. H. Green at Oxford, of how the "undergraduates were warmly interested in one another," and "had an inordinate fondness for measuring the intellectual gifts and conjecturing the future of those among their contemporaries who seemed likely to attain eminence," one cannot but feel that the basis for the present biographical studies was even then being laid.

The character analysis throughout is clear and incisive. The author is keenly alive to the strength and the weaknesses of his characters, and while always critical, in the good sense of that word, he never fails in kindness. The complex character of Gladstone is explained in a manner that leaves the impression of a perfect mastery of even the inner motives and springs of action of the great man. His pure Scotch ancestry, his Oxford education with the early phases of the Oxford movement, and his apprenticeship to Peel are conspicuous points. The contradictions are reconciled. It is no longer anomalous to read that "Gladstone was never a Whig;" that he came near to being a Roman Catholic in his religious opinions, yet was for the last twenty years of his life the trusted leader of the English Protestant Non-Conformist and the Scottish Presbyterians. His demeanor when under fire in the House of Commons is admirably described and the account of his retirement after 1894 is well worth reading for its own sake. One cannot help contrasting the

stately dignity and calm of Hawarden with the petulance and dissatisfaction of Fredricksruhe.

Disraeli is treated with equal force and clearness. His Hebrew extraction and his lack of a university training, facts of the utmost importance for a proper comprehension of his position, are emphasized. For Disraeli possessed in a full measure that detachment, intensity and the passion for material success so characteristic of his race. He had the faculty of turning all the powers of the mind, imagination as well as reasoning, into a single channel, which, together with the dearth of material for leadership among the Tory party, made possible his "climbing to the highest distinction." The limitations and in a sense the narrowness of Disraeli contrast strongly with the depth and the breadth of Gladstone, though this is suggested rather than expressed. This appreciation for the limitations of men and methods appears even more strikingly in the cases of Parnell and of Cardinal Manning, or when he speaks of the Arnoldine methods.

Prominence is given to high standards of private and public morality. One cannot but feel the author's strong admiration for the moral strenuousness of Mr. Gladstone or the deep sense of right seen so conspicuously in Dean Stanley, who, despite his sympathetic nature, was never guilty of the fashionable error "of extenuating moral distinctions." Yet he is fair and kind to all.

Comparisons and contrast by placing his characters in juxtaposition with other well-known contemporaries or historic personages are often very happy. In this way a great number of interesting personages are incidentally introduced, which serve to bring out the peculiar phase of the character under discussion. Of the many cases of this kind those in the Essay on Trollope are especially worthy of note, while the following from the discussion of the advantage enjoyed by Disraeli of living long merits to be quoted even in a review: "True it is that a man must have greatness in order to stand the test of long life. Some are found out, like Louis Napoleon. Some lose their balance and therewith their influence, like Lord Brougham. Some cease to grow or learn, and if a statesman is not better at sixty than he was at thirty, he is worse. Some jog heavily on, like Metternich, or stiffen into arbitrary doctrinaires, like Guizot. Disraeli did not merely stand the test, he gained immensely by it." Great historic movements of the last century often have new and suggestive light thrown upon them as they are seen through the relations of Mr. Bryce's characters to them. A few deserve special mention, such as the Oxford Movement, the liberalizing of the Scotch Presbyterians, the doctrine of Papal Infallibility and the Eastern Question.

There are occasional flights of style that rise to conspicuous heights, of which the passage describing Lord Acton in his library at Cannes late at night expounding his view of how his plan for a history of liberty might be realized, is a good example. "He spoke for six or seven minutes only; but he spoke like a man inspired, seeming as if, from some mountain summit high in air, he saw beneath him the far winding path of human progress from dim Cimmerian shores of prehistoric shadow into the fuller yet broken and fitful light of modern times. The eloquence was splendid, but even greater than the

eloquence was the penetrating vision which discerned through all events and in all ages the play of those moral forces, now creating, now destroying, always transmuting, which had moulded and remoulded institutions, and had given to the human spirit its ceaselessly-changing forms of energy. It was as if the whole landscape of history had been suddenly lit up by a burst of sunlight."

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

University of Pennsylvania

Arbeit und Rhythmus. By PROFESSOR KARL BÜCHER. Third edition. Pp. xi, 443. Price, 7 m. Leipzig: B. E. Teubner, 1902.

This volume is in striking contrast to the scholasticism of the usual economic writings. The author does not treat of quantitative industrial forces composed of absolutely equal units and governed by laws as immutable as the laws of physics. On the contrary he implies all through the book that laborers are human beings with minds filled with associations and with nervous systems easily affected by their environment. While not expressly stated, the author implies that drudgery is not a quality inherent in any kind of activity, but depends upon the associations connected with the particular thing which is found to be irksome. He calls attention to the fact that among primitive peoples music and singing are combined with all their activities to such an extent that the difference between work and play does not exist, and all that they do is done in the spirit of sport.

After discussing in the first chapters the rhythmical movements in work and work songs in a general way the author devotes a very large part of the book to songs composed for and sung to the different kinds of work and amusements, especially of the less-civilized peoples. The texts of the songs are given in great numbers, more than two hundred and fifty in all. The reader is astonished by the indisputable evidence here brought forward of the widespread use of music in connection with work. The ancient Egyptians sang constantly at nearly every kind of work. They rubbed the hulls off the grain, ground the kernels and kneaded the dough with their feet to songs composed for each part of the process. They drew their seines, hauled their boats, and drove the flock over moist earth to tread in the grain, to the melody of special songs. These customs have persisted to the present, for Baedeker's guide-book for that country says: "The Egyptians hold themselves for a peculiarly gifted musical people, and, indeed, the traveler will soon notice how much singing there is. The Egyptian sings when he squats on the ground, when he stretches himself on his straw mat, when he dances along behind his donkey, when he carries stones and materials up on to a building, when working in the field, when rowing. He sings whether he works alone or in groups and considers song an essential element of strength in his work and of joy in his leisure."

In like manner the ancient Greeks accompanied most of their routine work with music, instrumental or vocal, or both together. They spun to singing. They rowed their boats, tread out their wine, ground their grain, drew water

and kneaded bread to the tune of the flute, having one to play while the others worked. Modern Greeks habitually sing at many kinds of work. They habitually employ music, both vocal and instrumental, to cheer and strengthen them at work.

But not Egyptians and Greeks only, for throughout the world labor is done to music and singing. The natives of West Africa constantly sing at their work, and when a woman does not sing she does not work. In East Africa the carriers march under their burdens to the music of the kettle-drum. One traveler reports: "The natives of East Africa take pleasure in harmony. The fisher sings to the motion of his oars, the carrier sings with his burden and the woman sings as she grinds the corn." In Central Africa the same practice prevails. And here with some kinds of work it borders on the dramatic, for as the carriers march with their load it is the universal custom for one man to sing and dance ahead of them or at their side and thus cheer the toilers on their way. The Maoris of Australia sing at every kind of work or bodily activity. In the Moluccas every person, whether working alone or in groups, in wood or field, sings incessantly. The Truxarese sing without let-up while at work. The Malays sing at every kind of work and activity. In some kinds, such as rowing, they accompany their songs with the tam-tam. The Coolies, who work a great deal in gangs, always sing at their work. In China, as in the Soudan, the serfs do their work to the music of the drum. The Tahitians have countless songs adapted to every kind of work and for every grade of society. These are taught to the children, who afterwards sing them as they build their boats, as they launch them, as they fish, as they cut down and hew the trees, etc. The bush negroes of Guiana, the Caribbean and Central American natives have the same custom.

Thus everywhere in Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea, the natives of nearly all tribes and countries sing or play their musical instruments as an accompaniment to their various kinds of labor. Everything points to the fact that their ancestors, even back to remotest times, have always associated rhythm, music and work.

If we turn now to the civilized peoples we find that they, too, keep up the union of work with song. Though machinery with its clatter and whirr has nearly driven out of the Western world rhythmical movements in work and the custom of accompanying these with appropriate songs, nevertheless it still persists with the handicrafts in many countries.

The author advances the theory that music takes its origin in the rhythmical movements of the body. He finds that the meter of the songs is identical with the "meter" of the rhythmical movements of the work for which the song is composed. The book as a whole is extremely interesting and stimulating. It pictures clearly the possibility of making even routine work interesting by means of art. It shows us that what the most enlightened manufacturers are doing to reduce drudgery and surround the work with pleasant associations is no new thing, but is as old as the human face.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Philadelphia.

"The American Advance, a Study in Territorial Expansion." By EDMUND J. CARPENTER. Pp. 331. Price, \$2.50. London and New York: John Lane, 1903.

It is but natural that the centennial celebration of the largest territorial acquisition of the United States should be an occasion for the appearance of many books dealing with its expansion. It is but natural, also, that the altogether too recent passing of the Spanish power from this continent should offer many an inviting theme to the moralist who delights to assign causes for the decay of national greatness. The patient reader, however, who wades through volume after volume suggested by one or both of the above occurrences, may well ask if the majority of such productions are really worth while. If authors really must write about the expansion of the American republic at the expense of its Spanish and Mexican neighbors, why would it not be well occasionally to give us a change in point of view? For instance, let them use some of the sources now available in the Southwest and Mexico, to say nothing of possible material in Spain, to show us what the Spanish-American thought of his energetic opponents. It indeed seems that we have reached a point in our Western historical writing when no further works should be produced until there is a thorough exploitation of the archives which the careful, document-creating Spaniard so thoughtfully piled up for us. That such an exploitation will force us to adopt many new conclusions regarding apparently well-established truths goes without saying, and it may be that many phases of the new view of our land-absorbing career will give us a lessened feeling of satisfied complacency; yet this process of rigid investigation must be employed if we are ever to obtain a true picture of the expansion of the American people.

The volume under review is a fairly good production of its kind, but it shares the fault of many others in presenting a one-sided view. The author claims to have examined certain government publications in the preparation of his work, and his pages, so far as subject matter is concerned, seem to substantiate his claim. References to sources, however, are conspicuously absent. In a book intended for the average reader one could excuse the lack, were it not so very evident that he is giving us merely a rehash of ordinary, well-used material. One may arise from a perusal of the book with a somewhat clearer idea of certain historical events, but with a totally false conception of their true significance, and in many cases with a wrong date or a twisted interpretation to mislead one still further. Up to within a comparatively short time there was some excuse for writing a history of the Southwest largely from our own sources, but such is no longer possible. With two large depositories available in Texas, with collections in New Mexico and California, with the *Archivo General* of Mexico City, to say nothing of accessible material in England, France, and Spain, one should come forward with an apology to inflict upon the public another volume on American expansion based merely on American sources.

There is much to criticise in the work aside from the main fault of one-sidedness in treatment. Is there any special reason for giving 1822 as the date for the independence of Mexico? Is it strictly true that Monroe was to treat

for the "cession of Louisiana alone" (page 31)? Is he rightly called the "second great expansionist whom history has given us"? Many readers will not concur "in the historical fact of the discovery of the Texas region by La Salle in the year 1682" (page 113). His statement that "it was undeniable that the revolt of the Mexican province of Texas had its inception in the action of the Mexican republic in abolishing slavery" (page 128) is one that will readily be questioned and justly so. Throughout his discussion of the annexation of Texas he follows too closely the old idea that slavery was the "true" cause of the Texas movement, and utterly ignores the fundamental factors of racial differences and insurrectionary movements in Mexico. Even John Quincy Adams recognized the strength of the latter element, and one need spend but a few hours in such a collection as the *Béxar Archives* to realize the strength of the former. It may seem too fine a point to object to the word "city" as applied to Guadalupe Hidalgo, but there seems no reason for the numerous typographical and other mistakes in dates, with which the book is so liberally sprinkled, as to render it tedious to note them. It is not at all surprising that our author devotes some six pages of his chapter on "Oregon" to a vivid statement of Whitman's famous ride and its supposed results. He is not in the least deterred by recent "iconoclastic attempts" to relegate the story "to the realm of fable," but even imparts an air of reality to his version by reporting a conversation between Webster and Dr. Whitman. His final chapters are rightly brief, but with an occasional attempt at picturesque writing that distorts the true historic perspective.

Many of the descriptive passages of the book are spirited and interesting, but the serious fault of a lack of complete preparation for the task, coupled with carelessness in statement and inaccuracies in dates, renders the work much less helpful than it should be. The volume contains a map as a frontispiece but lacks an index or complete table of contents.

I. J. Cox.

Philadelphia.

Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy. By ROBERT A. DUFF, M. A. Pp. 516. Price, \$3.50. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1903.

This volume, the work of a Glasgow University professor, is by far the most systematic and scholarly exposition of Spinoza's philosophy that has yet appeared in English. Its chief merit as compared with the recent work of Sir Frederick Pollock is its greater comprehensiveness in scope, its finer elucidation of statement and its better correlation of ideas, although it falls short of the latter work in several minor particulars, notably as regards the treatment of the sources of Spinoza's philosophy. This important phase of the subject is dismissed by Professor Duff with a few paragraphs. Something like two-thirds of the volume is given up to an exposition of Spinoza's doctrines of law and politics as set forth in his two celebrated works, the "*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*" and the "*Tractatus Politicus*," the former published in 1670, the latter, an unfinished treatise, appearing shortly after the author's death in

1677. The remaining one-third of the volume deals with Spinoza's ethical system.

With regard to the sources of Spinoza's philosophy it may be noted that the author rejects in the main the view of Sir Frederick Pollock, T. H. Green and others, who have treated Spinoza largely as a disciple of Hobbes and who claim to have found the basis of much of his doctrine in the writings of the English philosopher. Duff points out that Spinoza never mentioned the name of Hobbes except in two passages, although he admits that Spinoza had a copy of the "*De Cive*" in his library. He thinks a deeper influence was exerted upon Spinoza by Machiavelli, who for some unaccountable reason seems to have held the Dutch philosopher under a magician's spell. There are frequent references of an important nature to the "Prince" and the "Discourses," while the tone and temper, as well as many of the illustrations and phrases of the "*Tractatus Politicus*," may be traced to this source. Two other authors who, in the opinion of the editor, influenced Spinoza were Grotius and St. Augustine. Strangely enough there is no evidence that either Plato or Aristotle contributed anything to his system of philosophy, and he does not seem to have even had any direct knowledge of the greatest of all philosophers.

Spinoza's doctrines of the "*Jus Naturæ*" and the "*Status Naturalis*" are made the subjects of special chapters. With regard to the latter Spinoza accepted the view of Hobbes, that the state of nature was one of potential if not actual warfare among men. His conception of the nature and function of law is wholesome and rational. Law, he says, is not inconsistent with liberty; it does not restrain the freedom of the individual, but secures and enlarges his freedom, and its force is not that of him who commands but of the individuals who obey, because they judge that their good lies in the direction of obedience. Spinoza's doctrines of political science are treated under the captions, "origin and sphere of the state," the "nature of government," the "value of a good constitution," the "nature and conditions of state security," "state autonomy" and "forms of state." His theory of the origin of the state is not very different from that of Hobbes. He traces its beginning to a covenant of mutual concessions from individuals who are prompted by a desire to secure greater happiness, peace and security than the state of nature affords. The idea that the state is the result of necessity, but at the same time man's best friend, pervades his whole system. Its end is not dominion nor the restraining of men by fear, but to deliver each man from fear; that is, its end is *libertas*. Spinoza's philosophy with regard to the sphere of the state is in harmony with the principles of sound political science. The entire realm of social and family life, the world of business and of recreation, and in fact every phase of human activity, is within the control of the state. Even property is held subject to its power, and private owners are but trustees for the state. The idea that the supreme end for which the state exists is the fostering and development of human intelligence is one of the dominant principles of his politics. Unlike Hobbes he makes a distinction between state and government. To him the terms are never synonymous except in absolute monarchies. His conception of the ideal state is that in which the power of the

ruler is absolute; and the monarch who can say with truth *L'état c'est moi* is the best of all rulers and has the happiest subjects, since only the best ruler can rule his subjects absolutely. The secret of the state's eternity, the happiness and freedom of its subjects and the surest security for the permanence of the royal power, is a good constitution planted deeply in the affections of the people. The obligation of obedience lasts only so long as the ruler maintains the conditions for the sake of which men form a state and elect rulers, but tyrannicide as a means of preventing tyranny is unjustifiable and insufficient. Applying to the state Hobbes' doctrine of the belligerency of the natural man, he says states are by nature enemies and are always in a state of potential or actual hostility.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.

University of Pennsylvania.

How to Keep Household Accounts: A Manual of Family Finance. By CHARLES WALDO HASKINS, L. H. M., C. P. A. Pp. viii, 117. Price, \$1.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1903.

More than a thousand books have appeared in English on the general theme of "domestic economy." Mr. Haskins, in his "How to Keep Household Accounts," is the first recognized authority in the field of accounting to give treatment to the subject. The work is intended to aid in the adjustment of private expenditure and income in such a way as to leave a surplus for "higher living." The ideal which the author sets before himself in this little book is expressed as follows: "We labor to satisfy our needs and to increase our hoard. Our labor is productive of these results, however, in proportion as it is well ordered." The book is dedicated to the service of the mistress of the household, into whose hands falls the administration of its well-being. A system is proposed which will show "how the situation compares, on the one hand, with a former condition and, on the other, with the ideal in the mind of the administrator." For classification of accounts the purpose of administration is set forth in simple language: "The reasoning of domestic economists will be that we must eat, drink, wear clothes, have a roof over our heads, pay for service, educate the young, look after the general comforts and well-being of the household and save what we can out of our income. This gives to the housewife seven chief categories of expenditure: (1) food, (2) clothing, (3) rent and taxes, (4) light, heat, washing, etc., (5) household furnishings, (6) education and recreation, (7) investments."

Not only does Mr. Haskins give the form of accounts intended to serve the end of intelligent thought with reference to these ends, but in the discussion of "the budget" he gives the best result of scientific research as to the apportionment of income in such a way as to give the highest results in welfare. The four laws laid down by Dr. Engels are set out in brief: "The drift of them is, (1) that as income increases the smaller is the percentage of outlay for food, (2) that the outlay for clothing maintains a constant proportion to the whole, (3) that the percentage for shelter and for heat and

light is the same whatever the income, (4) that the percentage of outlay for sundries (expressing the degree of prosperity) increases as income advances."

These observations, with a well-ordered system of accounts, lay the foundation for administration of income for the maintenance of higher living and enjoyment. To so apportion the several classes of expenditure as to leave the highest "expression of welfare" is to attain the greatest measure of success.

F. A. CLEVELAND.

New York City.

The Nearer East. By D. G. HOGARTH. Pp. xvi, 296. Price, \$2.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1902.

This volume is one of a series of geographical studies whose aim it is to make familiar the basis that geography gives to history and social progress. In each volume some natural region is to be so described that its marked physical features will be related to the life of the people or peoples that have occupied it. Facts are presented so graphically and vividly that their causal relations will be manifest. The reader will thus visualize each region with its seas and lands, its uplands and lowlands, its forests, deserts and all its seasonal changes on which crops, food and life depend.

This good program has been well executed by Mr. Hogarth in the present volume. I have seldom seen a book better arranged or its various facts and ideas more clearly presented. It is a model which it is to be hoped that the other authors of the series will follow. If they do, one of the great difficulties of history and social science will be removed.

The volume is of especial importance because it deals with the regions occupied by the older civilizations. The "Nearer East" is made up of the lands bordering on the eastern Mediterranean together with those about the Persian Gulf. It thus includes Greece, the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Arabia and Persia. Each of these regions is separately described, so that its area, position, geological structure and climate can be clearly understood, and then in the second part each district is again gone over to show its products, its means of communication, the distribution and grouping of races and the conditions of life. All this is well done, and no one can read the book and study the maps without acquiring new ideas of these regions and the part they have played in social progress.

The defects of the book lie in the closing sections. The author stops where the most is to be expected of him. After having described the five districts, there should have been a presentation of the physical aspects of the whole region and their effects on man. We do indeed find a closing chapter on "World Relation," but this deals only with its present use to other regions and with its power to provoke international disturbance.

Geologically the region as a whole is of late origin, and at an earlier period the seas must have covered a larger area and the land masses must have been of less altitude. At this time the region was well watered and the vegetation varied and luxurious. Later, partly at least through volcanic action,

the land masses increased in altitude and the seas were reduced in size or disappeared. Now a drying up of the region began, the highlands became steppes and the interior basins were turned into deserts. Population was thus forced out of the upland and interior regions, and the wanderings of these displaced races caused the wars and commotion to which this region has always been subject. Each new increase of desert area dislocated some nation and reduced the amount of tillable land. The roving tribes of the upland thus gradually increased until in the end the Turk dominated the whole region. The instability of ancient nations had thus a geographical cause, and civilization could not get a firm footing until it had reached the great northern plains, where rains were abundant.

Some such use as this of the facts presented might have made the book more useful to the economist, and it is to be hoped that the author will see fit to go further and add a chapter on economic history. But even as it is the book is a mine of information, and should be on the desk of every thoughtful student.

S. N. PATTEN.

University of Pennsylvania.

A Treatise on the Power of Taxation, State and Federal, in the United States.

By FREDERICK N. JUDSON. Pp. xxiv, 868. Price, \$6.00. St. Louis: The F. H. Thomas Law Book Company, 1903.

The legal literature on the subject of taxation has not been rich in recent years. In view of the growing importance of the many judicial decisions on the subject and of the increasing interest in it, this is a somewhat surprising fact. It makes still warmer the welcome for the work which Mr. Judson has given us.

The author has limited his task wisely to a central feature of the subject, which, however, is so important that a large proportion of the phases of taxation readily group themselves about it. He seeks to show the limitations of the taxing power of the states and of the federal government, so far as these limitations have been declared and expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States. When the decisions of the state and inferior federal courts have been cited, it is to apply and illustrate the limitations thus declared. The work thus answers the question: What can the states and federal governments tax? It leaves untouched the questions: What has it taxed? and What ought it to tax? It is therefore primarily the lawyer's book, but in this day, when the practical spirit rules in economic discussion, and especially in this subject, where the contact between law and economic theory is the closest, the work is most valuable also to the student of finance.

The need of such a special treatise is greatest in a federal government, and a large part of the book is taken up with the complications that arise from the relations of the several states to the general government. First are the limitations on the power of the states to tax the agency and property of the federal government and to abrogate contracts entered into for the exemption from taxation of the property of corporations. In several chapters

(chapters III-IX) the relations of the states with each other in matters of taxation are discussed, giving the following group of subjects: State taxation of imports and exports, interference with interstate commerce, state taxation of foreign corporations, of steamboats and vessels, of interstate carriers, the valuation of interstate property, and the taxation of national banks.

The relation of the states to their citizens as limited and controlled by a federal law forms the subject of the next group of chapters. They deal with: The fourteenth amendment and its guarantee of due process of law, both as to the mode of procedure and as to the public purpose of taxation; the process required in special assessments; the jurisdiction of the states; equality both as to the selection of the subjects of taxation and as to the valuation of property. The concluding chapters are on the taxing power of Congress and on the procedure and the enforcement of federal limitations upon the taxing power. The book contains in an appendix the Constitution of the United States and such portions of the state Constitutions as bear on the subject of taxation.

If one should venture to suggest which of these chapters is most important to the student of finance, the choice would probably fall on those dealing with the state taxation of foreign corporations and with special assessments; the one because it has to do with one of the most interesting current developments, and the other because it is a subject peculiarly American. Hardly less valuable, however, are passages in almost every chapter of the book. If the reform of our tax law is to realize the hopes of the advanced students of the subject, it must be guided at every step by a knowledge of what is legally possible. Such a guide is here given. The references in the book are carefully made, the research on which it is founded appears to have been painstaking, and the style is unusually simple and lucid even to the layman in search of legal lore. Mr. Judson has in this book confirmed and strengthened his reputation as a thinker and writer in this important middle ground between the law and economics.

FRANK A. FETTER.

Cornell University.

The Principles of Money. By J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN. Pp. xvi, 550. Price, \$3.00. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1903.

In this volume Professor Laughlin covers exhaustively the entire field of his subject. He begins his discussion with the functions of money, coinage and the standard question. Here he traverses familiar ground and arrives at well-known conclusions already sufficiently elaborated in his former work. His real contribution begins with Chapter IV, in which he deals with Credit. He defines credit as "the coinage of property into means of payment," meaning by this the purchase by banks of claims to receive sums of money at a future time secured by bills of lading or collateral. Since credit is based upon property sold, and follows instead of preceding the transactions of buying and selling, it cannot affect the relation between commodities and gold, and therefore has no influence upon prices. The author qualifies this conclusion by the

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admission that when "abnormal credit has been extended, that is to say, credit based upon unsalable goods or an unprofitable business, the funds for repayment may not be forthcoming at the time appointed, and a forced sale of property may temporarily depress prices." In the same way, an exaggerated estimate of value at the time of granting credit may operate to raise prices. Normal credit, however, the exchange of goods against other goods of equal value, has no effect upon prices. This analysis of credit is further elaborated in Chapter V, which treats of the deposit currency. Professor Laughlin considers this as the mechanism by which goods are exchanged against each other without the use of cash. Arising out of transactions, the volume of the deposit currency is co-extensive with the amount of transactions, rising and falling with the volume of exchanges. The only limit, in his opinion, to the increase of the deposit currency, is the amount of legitimate business to be done. If men come forward with salable property, they can always obtain banking accommodation.

He now presents a novel theory of bank reserves. These are generally believed to constitute the basis of the deposit currency, to offer to the community the guarantee of redemption which it demands as a condition of accepting without question the checks which depositors offer. The proportion of these cash reserves to the deposit liabilities are, therefore, generally supposed to fix a limit beyond which the deposit currency cannot be extended. To this theory Professor Laughlin takes important exceptions. He offers, first, that the deposit currency could not be based on cash, because at any given time it could not be converted into cash; and, second, that the amount of the cash reserves cannot limit, except within a very limited period, the amount of the deposit currency, since the banks could readily increase their cash holdings by exchanging for money some portion of their other assets. So long as salable property is offered as the basis of credit, the banks will not refuse to extend the necessary accommodation to the borrower.

Why then, if this view is correct, need a bank keep any cash reserve? Professor Laughlin answers: to test the salability of the property offered as a basis of discounts. In the ordinary course of business, one claim will cancel another, but occasions sometimes arise where property must be actually sold in order to pay a debt. To meet such occasional demands for cash the banks maintain their money reserves. If there was any way of guaranteeing the legitimacy of all business transactions, so that no doubt could arise concerning the perfect normality of every item of credit extended, the banks, in our author's view, could materially reduce their cash holdings. The most perfect illustration of the principle that the basis of credit is not money but property is found in the issue of clearing house certificates, which have been repeatedly accepted in satisfaction of all obligations by members of the association which issues them, and which are avowedly based upon securities deposited with the clearing house committee.

Chapters VI and VII, on Tables of Prices and The History of the Quantity Theory, are in themselves valuable contributions to the literature of money. In the first, after a prefatory discussion of the methods of compiling these tables, in which he seems to favor that of an average weighted

according to the importance of the several articles in the national consumption, the author presents the results of a most laborious compilation in a series of charts and tables which summarize twenty-three important investigations of prices covering the period beginning with the new gold discoveries. These tables include English, German, Dutch, Italian, French, American and Indian prices, and in fact epitomize the price investigations of the past fifty years. The purpose of this compilation is to offer a basis, first for the consideration of the hitherto accepted theory that prices are directly conditioned by the supply of money, and, second, for the author's own theory of price movements.

Eighty-six pages are next devoted to an elaborate history of the development of the so-called quantity theory of money. Without pausing to consider the discussion in detail, which summarizes the views of all the leading writers on money upon this subject from the mercantilists down, we may observe that the author finds throughout a general adherence to the proposition that the level of prices corresponds to the relation between the demand for money, by which is generally understood the quantity of goods offered in exchange, and the supply of money, which has been variously defined, as the supply of coined money, of coined money plus bank notes, and of the total amount of currency plus the amount of credit, which most text writers have agreed is based upon the cash reserves. In the later development of the theory Professor Laughlin discovers a strong inclination to the use of methods of hypothetical formulation; but in spite of a growing reluctance to approve the theory in its naked simplicity, few theorists have ventured to repudiate it, and it undoubtedly lies at the basis of current monetary thinking. Following his exposition of the quantity theory, the author now subjects it to destructive criticism. His method of attack has already been indicated. He believes that normal credit has no effect upon prices, and since the bulk of transactions are effected by the use of credit, the volume of business is not compared, to more than a small extent, with the amount of cash. This takes place in the retail market, but, as he contends, before this comparison is made, prices have been fixed in the wholesale markets without the use of money. How then, he asks, can the transfers of cash materially influence the general level of prices? Moreover, he argues that the advocates of the quantity theory have fixed their attention upon the money side of the price ratio and have ignored the influences operating upon commodities. Finally the quantity theory will not bear the test of facts. By reference to several investigations of this subject, Professor Laughlin shows that, as a matter of fact, the fluctuations of prices have not corresponded with the movement of currency whether considered in its gross or per capita amount, and that an equal lack of correspondence is visible in comparing the movement of prices with that of the deposit currency.

We now approach the most important portion of this study, in which the author presents what he considers to be the true theory of prices, which may be summarized in the following series of proportions:

1. Price is the value relation between commodities and the standard—gold.
2. A movement of prices is the result of changes in this relation.

3. Such changes are due to forces affecting either the supply or demand for gold, or the supply of or the demand for commodities.

4. These forces—quoting exactly—are as follows: (A) On the side of gold: (a) lowered cost of production or increased supply of gold, (b) decrease in the existing supply of gold or greater expense of mining, (c) increased demand for gold, (d) diminished demand for gold. (B) On the side of steel (taken as an example: (e) Lowered expense of production (or possible increase of supply under competition, (f) increased expenses of production or monopoly, (g) increased demand for steel (from owners of other goods), (h) diminished demand for steel (from owners of other goods).

5. Owing to the amount of gold in existence, causes affecting its supply must be extremely gradual in their operation. When the supply is naturally increased, the effect upon value is exerted not in the circulation, since "the injection of new gold into the channels of trade as a medium of exchange would be resisted by the business habits of the community," but in the arts where it would be compared with wheat and steel. The method by which this change in value is effected is through the agency of the mint, which converts the gold plate diminished in value as compared with wheat, into gold dollars also diminished in value. The cause of the decline in the value of gold is not the offering of more gold in the form of goods, but is the consequence of the valuation process which has already taken place before the monetary form is assumed.

6. A decrease in the cost of production of gold also affects its value. "Provisions and similar farm products, whose expenses of production have undergone little change, buy a very much greater weight of gold than formerly, because the exertion and outlay for obtaining the new gold there is less relatively to that of the provisions." Costs are compared at the mines and adjacent farms.

7. The demand for gold arises: (1) From the arts, (2) bank reserves, to test the amount of credit which can be extended, and (3) as a medium of exchange, where it is of little present consequence.

8. Supposing now that gold is a constant, the gold value of steel is affected by the following influences: (a) Any change in the cost of producing steel, or in the degree of monopoly power which its producers possess. (b) Any change in the demand for steel.

10. Since the demand for and the supply of gold are only slowly affected, the price of steel from one year to another, always allowing for the influence of abnormal credit, is chiefly affected by causes affecting the cost of production or the demand for steel.

11. Explanations of current price movements are to be sought among the causes which influence the supply of and the demand for commodities. Considerations affecting the money side are of much less importance.

The remainder of the book is occupied with discussions of Gresham's Law, Legal Tender and kindred topics, essential to the complete exposition of the subject, but not of sufficient controversial importance to warrant analysis in this place.

In summing up Professor Laughlin's work as a whole, it is difficult to

offer specific criticisms without attacking the basis of his contention, that the mechanism of exchange does not rest on money but that its basis is property. When this is accepted, the remaining propositions follow with the certainty of mathematics. Those of his readers who cannot approve his major premise, while unable to withhold their admiration from the energetic ability with which the author has penetrated every part of his subject, and the consummate arts of his style and arrangement which are worthy of the best traditions of the classical school, will not go along with him to the conclusions of his argument.

The argument of the *Principles of Money* aims to minimizing the importance of coined money in the modern system of exchange and to enlarge the previous estimate of the importance of the forces affecting the commodity side of the price ratio. Professor Laughlin's critics may find in the discussion which leads to this result, an extreme reaction from the exaggeration of the importance of the medium of exchange which prevailed a few years since. No one can deny, however, that while this point of view may be open to question in several places, particularly, we may remark in passing, in the treatment of the relations between cost of production and prices, the entire volume is a marvel of careful, patient scholarship, which will be read with appreciation and with great profit by all students of monetary history and theory, and which will rank with the historic contributions to the literature of money.

EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.

University of Pennsylvania.

A History of the Middle Ages. By DANA CARLETON MUNRO. Pp. xii, 242. Price, \$0.90. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1902.

It is hard to introduce much originality into a text-book. The limitations of space, of the capacity of the students for whom it is intended, of the necessarily commonplace material which it must include, are so great as apparently to confine the author to a very well-beaten track. Nevertheless Professor Munro has written a text-book of veritable originality. It is original in the first place in its balance between description of institutions and narrative of events. One of the great mediæval institutions after another—the church, feudalism, the monastic orders, the universities—emerges into prominence and is made clear by a wise selection of leading characteristics and a simple direct description. Interwoven with these is a thread of narrative—the downfall of the Carolingian empire, the attacks of the Northmen, the strife over investitures, the Norman Conquest, the Crusades—that leaves out of the story no event of leading significance, short as the account must often be. Secondly, it is original in that it shows such good scholarship. Short as the book is and concrete as is the method of presentation, every chapter and subject dealt with reflects familiarity with the most detailed, scholarly and recent work in that particular subject. The illustrations bear the same mark of rigorous authenticity and originality. It is only recently that specialists in various fields have been drawn into the ranks of text-book writers, and it

has been a matter of question whether they would prove capable of giving to their books the brevity and simplicity necessary for school books. It is hard to see how a book could be more plain, easy of comprehension and direct in statement than Professor Munro has made this. Its combination of a high tone of scholarly excellence with clearness and simplicity is certainly to be admired and praised. Finally, this book is original in its divisions of periods. The middle ages are considered to cover only the period from about A. D. 800 to about A. D. 1300. The events of the period from the fall of the Western Roman empire to the rise of that of Charles the Great are relegated to a brief introduction. The events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are left to be treated of with modern times or to be slurred over altogether. The first of these truncations is due to the plan of periods recommended by the "Committee of Seven," which combines the study of the first eight Christian centuries with that of ancient times, largely for pedagogical reasons. The abbreviation of the middle ages at the other end is due to Professor Munro's own preference. Professor Munro would doubtless contend that the distinction of periods is an internal and self-existing one, which we cannot control, and not a mere matter of division for convenience; that the middle ages really did come to an end and modern times begin with the close of the thirteenth century. We are inclined to think this claim somewhat fanciful and strained, and to feel that the traditional placing of the division line between the middle ages and modern times well toward the close of the fifteenth century has much to justify and commend it.

However, this book is evidently intended to be used with a companion work to make a full year's study, and the division of periods therefore makes comparatively little difference. Certainly this can detract but little from an expression of unreserved praise and sincere commendation of the book.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Heredity and Social Progress. By SIMON N. PATTEN, Ph. D. Pp. viii, 214. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Company, 1903.

With keen philosophic insight Professor Patten, in this his latest book, probes to the roots of biology and plants there the foundations of economics and the other social sciences. It is a bold deduction, wrought out with perfect logic, and shows one common principle active in every advance from the lowest unicellular organism to the highest social institution. To state this principle in the form of a title the work should have received the name, "a study in the significance of the *surplus*."

Five questions by way of a preface challenge attention. Two of these are of vital importance: "Does progress start from a deficit or from a surplus?" "Does education improve natural or acquired characters?" In the discussion of these questions Professor Patten has made profound additions to economic and social science. He calls attention to the fact that in the ultimate analysis growth precedes use in phylogeny, and thus a surplus in nutrition is the condition by which new structure arises and new species differentiate; that when

the variations consequent upon a surplus energy give the organism an advantage in its environment, the variation is retained, thus putting the organism one step forward toward a more complex or higher development. Nowhere has this principle been so strikingly stated as here.²⁵ "Animals do not develop teeth because they eat hard food. They eat hard food because they have teeth. They do not attain wings because they fly; they fly because they have wings. They do not develop nails because they scratch; they scratch because they have nails. Nor do they develop hair because they go into cold regions; they go north because they have hair."

These principles carefully worked out are shown to apply to society. Acquired characters are not directly inherited, that is do not become at once natural characters. Social institutions are secondary characters and must be drilled into the minds of children; "they are propagated by imitation, forethought, or some other conscious means." They produce surplus nutrition and energy, and hence permit a change in the habits or environment, and in the new environment characters which were acquired under the old régime may become natural.

In the chapter on "Emotion" the author makes a contribution to biology which is very striking and far-reaching, and goes a long way toward removing the gloom which the theory of natural selection brought into the camp of the economists.²⁶ "When deer are attacked by lions, if some were killed the elimination would create change through natural selection. But the emotion caused by the attack would act on the living and impel them to alter their habits and also to change their situation and perhaps their food as well. The whole herd would be affected by the emotion, and . . . a quick adjustment to new conditions would follow long before natural selection would have time to act." A fallacy of the older economists in the application of the theory of survival is shown.²⁷ "If the only effects of starvation, disease and destruction—the means through which natural selection acts—were on those killed, we might assume that the survivors were improved. But where disease or starvation kills one, it injures hundreds which live to propagate their kind." Emotion causes a shock, and recoil from the dangerous environment, and then "fresh growth restores all or even more than was lost." What we call character in men is the same as the natural character of the biologists, and arises from the energy created by a surplus. It modifies environment, while emotion modifies men. Deficits are guarded against by acquired characters. "A deficit does not develop new natural characters; it can become a cause of progress only by conscious means and through agencies which must be evoked anew in each generation. With it is handed down from father to son a tradition, a custom, a moral rule, or an imitation, but not an organic modification. It is a psychic and not a biologic inheritance, and represents the sum of the acquired characters that have proven of use to the species or the race."²⁸

From this analysis it is plain that the business of education is with the

²⁵ Page 20.

²⁶ Page 42.

²⁷ Page 43.

²⁸ Pages 130, 131.

transmission of acquired characters, whose purpose is to counteract the evil influence of a deficit. The real effect of this education is to fix social activity in grooves of custom and rule; a surplus makes such restriction obsolete and gives rise to protests and revolutions against the existing social régime.

The theory of natural selection still applies to society, but elimination does not necessarily mean the destruction of life. Its realm of destruction is transferred to capital, that extension of self which acts as an envelope between man, the animal, and the exterior physical world. Contests now between men, as in war, are usually decided within the realm of wealth. "The poorer instruments are eliminated by the contest, but not the poorer men. So far as men are killed off, it is probably the best men on each side."²⁰

So the great question is answered. Progress starts in a *surplus* and not in a deficit, as taught by current biologists and by the classical economists. This new point of view has very wide implications. "That morality begins in poverty and disappears in prosperity, and that salvation is for the poor alone, are preached with vigor in many ways."²¹ But these teachings must be revised. "The vital point in all progress is the creation of a social surplus."²¹ "Remove the surplus and there is no progress; restore it, and there is no elimination."

These are contributions to scientific economics of the highest order. To enunciate principles which are fundamental in a whole group of sciences is not given to many men, and we are made to see at every turn that the proper equipment for students in economics, sociology and history is a thorough grounding in the principles of biology. Mr. Benjamin Kidd in his "Social Evolution" recognizes this need as pressing, yet ignored. "Even in economics, despite recent advances, it does not yet seem to be recognized that a knowledge of the fundamental principles of biology and of the laws which have controlled the development of life up to human society, is any necessary part of the outfit with which to approach the study of this science. In history the divorce is even more complete. We have the historian dealing with the record of life in its highest forms and recognized as the interpreter of the rich and varied record of man's social phenomena in the past; yet, strange to say, feeling it scarcely necessary to take any interest in those sciences which in the truest sense lead up to his subject. It is hardly to be wondered at if he has so far scarcely succeeded in raising history, even in name, to the dignity of a science."

Professor Patten is a pioneer in this most sane and healthy advance and stands as a leader—one of the best constructive students in social science America has produced. In fairness we must judge him great by virtue of the solid contribution he gives us and not because of an absence of error. The trained biologist in reading this book will doubtless reject as gratuitous and indefensible much of the chapter on "Reduction" and all of the theory of the origin of nerves and the sex of the brain, but these parts are not

²⁰ Page 203.

²¹ Page 193.

²¹ Page 195.

relevant to the main discussion of the volume, and could be suppressed entirely without detracting from the power and merit of the real contribution.

J. PAUL GOODE.

University of Chicago.

Buddhist India. By T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, LL. D., Ph. D. Pp. 332. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

This book, by the eminent Pali scholar, Professor Rhys-Davids, is not so much a history, in the sense of a narrative of events, as a description of the social, economic and religious conditions of India at the time of the rise of Buddhism. The work reflects in every chapter the author's high scholarship and wide knowledge of the original sources from which he draws his facts. It is, therefore, of great value to the student of early institutions. Historical research has been so much confined to European peoples as to deserve Spencer's criticism that it affords too narrow a basis of induction for the construction of any general theory of social evolution. The sociologist, therefore, should especially welcome all such works which embody critical historical research into the early social condition of non-European peoples.

Professor Rhys-Davids points out at the beginning that ancient India was not, as Brahmin tradition would make it, monarchical in government, but was democratic. This is shown by the fact that even as late as the Buddha's time, in the seventh century B. C., a number of free republics survived alongside of more or less powerful monarchies. The earliest form of government in India, as elsewhere, seems to have been the primitive democracy of the clan, based upon the blood-bond. The myth of the antiquity of the kingship was a later invention of the priests.

As to the clans, only the vaguest information can be obtained. Though they still retained for the most part their democratic form of organization, electing their *rajas* and transacting their business in public assemblies, it is evident that already in Gotama's time they had expanded far beyond the dimensions in which such a primitive democracy could be successful. Thus the Sakiya clan, to which the Buddha belonged, is estimated to have included about a million persons at this period. Here it may be noted that ancient India was not the same geographically as the India of to-day. In early Buddhist literature no place south of 23° N. is mentioned, and other evidence also shows that the India of that time was bounded by the Himalayas, the Indus, the Vindhya range and the delta of the Ganges. This territory was then relatively sparsely populated, containing probably not more than twenty million people and only about a dozen cities of considerable size.

The people lived then, as now, mainly in villages. The whole social structure of Indian life was consequently based upon the village. And the typical Aryan village in India, with its communal property and labor, does not seem much different from the Aryan village in early Europe. The divergences from the Aryan type, and there are many, Professor Rhys-Davids explains largely through the influence of the non-Aryan elements in the population.

Social distinctions in this population were not as definite as they became

later. The four castes or "colors," it is true, already existed, but the lines between them were not hard and fast, and "there was altogether a much freer possibility of change among the social ranks than is usually supposed." It is especially noted that the caste of the Brahmins did not hold the first place in the social scale (which they succeeded later in attaining), but this was held, as we should expect, by the caste of the nobles, the Kshatriyas. Professor Rhys-Davids' explanation of the origin of the caste system does not seem to us a good one. He makes the basis of caste the restrictions as to *connubium* and *commensality*, such as exist the world over. But the fact that the castes were called "colors" in ancient India would seem to suggest that they were primarily based upon racial distinctions, and that the system was largely the outcome of racial struggle.

The most interesting feature of the economic organization of ancient India was the large number of guilds. The power as well as the number of these guilds indicates a high degree of industrial development. Archæological finds indicate a corresponding development of the arts and sciences, and show that commerce was extensive and carried on through the medium of coined money.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD.

University of Missouri.

Money and Banking: An Introduction to the Study of Modern Currencies.

By WILLIAM A. SCOTT, Ph. D. Pp. 381. Price, \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1903.

This book is intended to serve as a text for college courses in money and banking and as a hand-book for the average citizen. A good elementary text-book in this subject has been greatly needed, and few, if any, are better equipped than Professor Scott for the task of writing it. The book before us is written in the light of ten years' experience in teaching college classes. Its scope is satisfactory, its plan admirable, and the work as a whole is well balanced.

The arrangement is similar to that of Jevon's "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange." Professor Scott begins with a discussion of the Nature and Functions of Money; the Medium of Exchange: its Characteristics and Composition and the Relations between its Constituent Elements; the Standard of Value and Prices; the Quantity Theory of Prices; Metallic Money; and Government Paper Money. This is followed by chapters bearing the titles Bank Currency: its Nature, Operation and Advantages; the Forms of Bank Currency and the Limits of its Issue; Bank Currency: its Regulation and Safety; The Chief Banking Systems of the World; Banking Machinery and Methods; The Foreign Exchanges; and The Bank Rates. This is followed in turn by two chapters on bimetallism: the Theory of Bimetallism and the History of Bimetallism. Finally in appendices will be found a list of references, statistical tables relating chiefly to the production and coinage of the precious metals, and the par of exchange and gold points of the chief centres of foreign countries.

The exposition for the most part is excellent. The discussion throughout

is eminently sane. There is little that is new, but in the selection and rejection of materials the author has exercised good judgment. All the topics are well discussed, but Chapter IV on the Quantity Theory of Prices and Chapter XIV on the Theory of Bimetallism deserve special mention. On points at issue all important views are set forth clearly and fairly. At the end of each chapter a list of the principal references useful and ordinarily available for the American student is given so that he may extend his reading wisely and get further information. On the whole these references are well chosen. However, some omissions are not easily accounted for. For example, no reference is made in Chapter X dealing with the Chief Banking Systems of the World to Barnett's "State Banking in the United States since the Passage of the National Bank Act." Nor does the book contain a reference to the Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, with which every student of money and banking should become familiar.

Without further comment of this kind it may be said that the book has all the marks but two of an excellent text-book. The two shortcomings found are frequently met with in first editions, where the book has grown out of class-room lectures, viz: inaccuracy of details and lack of "up-to-dateness." The former is serious in this instance and the latter lays the author open to the charge of carelessness in revision for publication.

The inaccuracies, many of them important, are numerous in spite of the fact that "great pains have been taken to make the statements of fact in the book accurate." The nature of the inaccuracies may be seen from a few citations. The two-cent piece, the coinage of which was discontinued by the act of February 12, 1873, is mentioned several times (pages 20, 75, 76, 86) as one of the coins now struck at our mints. Our twenty-five-cent piece is said (78) to be known as a "bit" on the Pacific Coast and in the South. The silver dollar is said (84) always to have been invested with full legal-tender power, though later it is noted that in 1878 it was reinvested with this power. One is led to believe (114) that Congress in 1900 passed an act which fixed the minimum *gold* reserve for the redemption of government notes at \$150,000,000. The statement is made (161) without qualification "that at least one-third of the capital stock of national banks shall be invested in the registered bonds of the United States." Other statements are made so carelessly as to mislead the class of readers for which the book is written. Would a reader of this class, for example, not be misled by the statements that the Bank of England has "branches scattered all over the kingdom" (191) and that the Reichsbank has "numerous branches all over the empire" (199)?

When a book is published in 1903 the reader has a right to expect that absolute statements of fact in the present tense refer to what obtained within reasonably recent times. But if the reader accepted in this way statements made in this book he would frequently be deceived. The statements (160, 201) relative to the accumulation of a surplus by the Reichsbank and the divisions of profits between the German government and the stockholders do not hold true since the renewal of the charter of that institution in 1899. The limit to the note issues of the Bank of France was fixed by law at 4,000,000,000 francs (202), but in 1897 it was raised to 5,000,000,000 francs.

The statement (168) that "in the case of the Bank of England a limit of £16,450,000 is set to the issue of notes against which the bank is permitted to hold government securities" is no longer accurate. Other instances of this kind might be cited.

The reader of a book has a right to expect also that when statistical data are given they shall be brought down as nearly as may be to date. Professor Scott has made no effort to bring his statistical data down to a more recent date than the end of the year 1899 or the early part of the year 1900. The latest statistics (197-8) for our own bank currency are for July 1, 1900.

But all this adverse criticism is with reference to faults which may be corrected without great difficulty in a new edition, and when such corrections are made, the book should be an excellent college text.

H. A. MILLIS.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

American Republic and Its Government. By JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN. Pp. 410. Price, \$2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

Professor Woodburn has written an admirable text-book suitable for colleges. In the eight chapters of his compact and well written work he deals with "The Principles of the Fathers," "The Federal Union," "The Presidency," "The Senate," "The House of Representatives," "The Judiciary," "The States" and "The Territories" respectively. The chapter on "The Principles of the Fathers" includes a discussion of the various rights which were supposedly the heritage of all Englishmen in 1776, such as the right of constitutional government, local self-government, jury trial, assembly and petition, assent to taxes, etc. In treating the historical basis of these rights, the author refers to the events of English history leading to the recognition of each right. In the chapter on "The Federal Union" is found the usual discussion of the various forms of government, including little that is new. In the difficult question as to the relation between the states and the Federal Government, the author gives a fairly satisfactory statement, that our government is federal in its origin but operates directly on the people and is, therefore, national in its operation. It is, perhaps, a matter for regret that so many of our writers on history and political science have not received a more thorough economic training, or if they have, that so little advantage has been taken of this field of thought in writing on political subjects. Had Professor Woodburn placed in Chapter II a few short paragraphs dealing with the economic and social reasons for the national character of our government and its operation, it would have lent much of interest and clearness to his discussion of the subject.

The chapter on "The Presidency" is disappointing; Professor Woodburn explains simply and with lucidity the essential differences between European executives and our own, laying great emphasis on the views of American statesmen at different periods in our history regarding the relations of Congress and the courts to the President; he also discusses at considerable length the method of election and its suggested amendments, together with the powers of the President.

In all of these chapters there is a wealth of historical detail but unfortunately very little of the broad point of view which should characterize the treatment of this portion of the subject. The growth of the executive power, it may be said without exaggeration, represents the greatest change in the internal structure of our government since the Civil War, yet the student might peruse the author's third chapter in detail without being impressed by that fact. Perhaps this omission was intentional; if so, it may have been contemplated that the instructor would give the necessary emphasis to the increasing importance of the executive, allowing the student to gather his materials from the book. But even such a plan seems questionable. The chapters on "The Senate" and "The House of Representatives" are likewise interesting, readable, thorough and modern. There is a great abundance of material relative to the historical growth of our peculiar system of apportionment, election, etc. Particularly commendable is the treatment of the House of Representatives, where the marvelous concentration of power, which has given the speaker and the committee on rules such unquestioned sway, is described with numerous illustrations, and at the conclusion of the chapter this material is brought into effective correlation by the development of a general principle or tendency: "The Judiciary" is fairly well described, although one misses a discussion of the important subject of government by injunction and its constitutional significance.

In discussing "The States and Their Government" Professor Woodburn does not attempt to give a description of governmental organization, but briefly summarizes the sphere of the states in their relation to the Federal Union. The same is true of the concluding chapter on "The Territories and Their Government." A description of territorial government would have been welcomed here but the author limits himself to a short statement of the constitutional aspects of our territorial legislation, emphasizing the recent Supreme Court decisions. There can be no doubt that in Professor Woodburn we have an admirable, clear and judicious writer, who it may be hoped will venture farther into the field of governmental discussion. Criticisms on the substance of a text-book on American government are likely to be determined too much by the peculiar interests of the critic. A single criticism regarding the method of presentation employed by Professor Woodburn might, however, be ventured. The author has employed such an abundance of material and has cited so freely from different writers that he has included much that is of purely transient value. Especially open to question is the citation of W. A. White's criticism of President Cleveland in a monthly magazine of recent date. Such a passage would perhaps look better in the Washington correspondence of an afternoon newspaper than in the footnote of a college text-book. In spite of this rather voracious appetite for magazine citations, the author has compiled a number of new and interesting references showing the practical operation of our political system. It is this thorough-going insistence on description of things as they are which constitutes the chief merit of the book.

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- Aldrich, W., Money and Credit. F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.25.
 Allen, W. H., Rural Sanitary Administration in Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Pa.: W. S. Ray.
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 Bushee, F. A., Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston. American Economic Association, IV, 2. Macmillan. \$1.00.
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 de Coubertin, P., La Chronique de France. Paris.
 Dopp, Katharine E., The Place of Industries in Elementary Education. Chicago: University Press. \$1.00.
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 Durkheim, E., L'Année Sociologique, Sixième Année. Paris: Felix Alcan. 12.50fr.
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 Freund, Ernst, Empire and Sovereignty. Chicago: University Press.
 Garelli, A., Le Imposte Nello Stato Moderno. Vol. I. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli. 8l.
 Halévy, Elie, Thomas Hodgskin. Paris: Georges Bellais. 2.50fr.
 Hart, A. B., The Romance of the Civil War. Macmillan. \$0.60.
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 Lambert, E., La Fonction du Droit Civil Comparé. Paris: Giard & Brière. 15fr.
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 Le Conte, Joseph, Autobiography of, Edited by W. D. Armes. Appleton. \$1.25.
 Léon, P., Fleuves Canaux Chemins de Fer. Paris: Armand Colin. 4fr.
 Meade, E. S., Trust Finance. Appleton. \$1.25.
 Orth, S. P., The Centralization of Administration in Ohio. Columbia University Press. \$1.50.
 Meyer, B. H., Railway Legislation in the U. S. Macmillan. \$1.25.
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NOTES

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

AMERICAN CITIES

Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League¹ was held at Detroit, Mich., April 22, 23 and 24, with First-Vice-President Richardson in the chair. The papers were about evenly divided between those that might appropriately be called descriptive reviews and those having to do with advance work and a discussion of fundamental principles. The secretary's report, as usual, was a survey of the whole municipal field in the United States. It dealt at length with Mayor Low's administration, pointing out wherein it had succeeded and the serious obstacles with which it and all other reform administrations had to contend, and with the recent elections in Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis and Toledo. It further dealt with the progress of the movements for civil service and nomination reforms and for uniform municipal accounting. Important papers on municipal conditions in St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, Wisconsin, Detroit, Indianapolis, Ohio, California and the Philippines were contributed by James L. Blair, general counsel for the World's Fair; Frank H. Scott, vice-president Chicago Municipal Voters' League; W. A. Frisbee, city editor of the *Minneapolis Journal*; Dr. Amos Parker Wilder, editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal*; Sherman D. Callender, attorney for the Detroit Municipal League; Charles C. Brown, editor of the *Engineering News*; Harry A. Garfield, president of the Cleveland Municipal Association; Frank J. Symmes, president San Francisco Merchants' Association, and Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, author of "Colonial Government" and "World Politics."

The paper of Mr. Blair rebutted the idea recently given prevalence that St. Louis had not felt the enormity of the recent disclosures and had not taken steps to correct the evils which had been unearthed. He clearly set forth that on the other hand advances had been made. He described in detail the accomplishment of Rolla Wells's administration of the mayoralty and Joseph W. Folk's administration of the circuit attorneyship.

Mr. Scott's paper on Chicago contained a capital account of the truly remarkable work which had been accomplished by the Voters' League of that city. Mr. Frisbee's description of the "Minneapolis Housecleaning" revealed an almost incredible state of affairs. Dr. Reinsch's paper on "Municipal Government in the Philippines" was based upon a summary of the facts and laws relating to the subject made by Col. Clarence R. Edwards, the well-known chief of the Insular Bureau of the War Department. Dr. Wilder's paper on the "Wisconsin Situation" told of the great advances that have been accom-

¹ Contributed by Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

plished in that state along municipal lines. The descriptive papers reflected the strength and growth of the whole movement for municipal betterment as represented by the National Municipal League.

The question of a federation of civic forces was discussed at length in papers by J. Horace McFarland, president of the American League for Civic Improvement; Charles Mulford Robinson, secretary of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association; Charles Richardson, vice-president of the National Municipal League, and Charles C. Brown, formerly vice-president of the American Society of Municipal Improvement. One and all spoke in favor of co-operation and federation and a motion was adopted endorsing the idea of a civic alliance put forward by a committee of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association.

The papers discussing advance work and fundamental questions were contributed by Horace E. Deming on Nomination Reform, Dr. John A. Fairlie and Professor John B. Davis on the Teaching of Municipal Government in Educational Institutions, Wilson L. Gill on the School City, and Dr. E. M. Hartwell on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics, on which subjects papers were also contributed by Harvey S. Chase and M. N. Baker.

Mr. Deming's paper dealt with the political principles underlying the movement for direct and open primaries. It cannot well be summarized, but to all who are interested in this phase of the subject it will repay a careful reading. Professor Fairlie's paper displayed his usual care and research, and with the companion paper of Professor J. B. Davis, of the Detroit High School, constitutes a most important contribution to the subject of instruction in municipal government, at which the league has been at work now for three years with significant results. Dr. Hartwell's paper set forth in a striking fashion the inadequacy of the bulk of municipal statistics, reinforcing his argument with numerous telling illustrations. Mr. Chase's paper dealt with the work accomplished in Ohio under the new public accounting act. The proceedings will be published in full this autumn.

The following officers were elected to serve for the ensuing year: Honorary president, James C. Carter, New York; president, Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore; first vice-president, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; second vice-president, Samuel B. Capen, Boston; third vice-president, Thomas N. Strong; fourth vice-president, H. Dickson Bruns; fifth vice-president, Edmund J. James; secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff; treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., and the following executive committee: Horace E. Deming, chairman; New York; William G. Low, Brooklyn; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburgh; Harry A. Garfield, Cleveland; Hector McIntosh; William P. Bancroft, Wilmington; Elliott H. Pendleton, Cincinnati; James L. Blair, St. Louis; John Davis, Detroit; Dudley Tibbits, Troy; John A. Butler, Milwaukee; Oliver McClinck, Pittsburgh; Harry B. French, Philadelphia; Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge; Harry T. Atkins, Cincinnati; Davis H. Lawrence, Duluth.

National Municipal League.—*Report of Secretary.* The annual report of the secretary of the league, the Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, presents a most encouraging picture of the improvement of municipal conditions throughout the United States. In almost every large city of the United States the

reform party has been successful either in electing its candidates or in scoring a large increase in the number of votes. Even Philadelphia, which for so many years has shown such hopeless signs of apathy, has awakened to the possibility of a new era under the guidance of the recently elected mayor.

Charter Revision. In speaking of charter reform Secretary Woodruff says: "In every part of the country the movement for charter reform is manifesting itself, and the publications of the National Municipal League, and especially the 'Municipal Program,' have been widely used. The demand for a larger measure of home rule continues unabated. The intolerable interference by state legislatures, such as we constantly see in Pennsylvania and New York, is in every way working its own cure. It is creating an adverse public sentiment that will eventually clothe our cities with sufficient powers to transact their business free from outside dictation or domination. Denver has just secured a great home-rule victory and is busy preparing to reap the benefits.

Ohio's Lost Opportunity. Ohio missed a great opportunity to make a notable contribution to charter reform and the cause of home rule. By a single decision the Supreme Court of the state wiped out the whole network of special legislation and gave to the legislature an unusual opportunity, but it failed to seize it and permitted politics instead of sound public policy to control. As has already been noted, the whole progress of the state toward rational municipal government was halted and turned back to enable the politicians to gain control of a single city. Now that they have signally failed in this, possibly they will give the cities what they have all along needed and in many cases demanded, a fuller and freer opportunity to govern themselves.

Charter Revision in Chicago. In Chicago the whole question has become a burning one, and a charter convention has been formed for the express purpose of advancing the project. St. Louis is now utilizing the new powers recently conferred upon her. Minneapolis and Wilmington, Del., are making further efforts to secure new instruments. Los Angeles has secured one which contains many valuable features, not the least important being the establishment of a civil service system to apply to every department of the city.

Uniform Accounting. Uniform municipal accounting has also made considerable progress. Ohio passed a public-accounting bill last year, which has since been put into force and effect under the supervision of our own member, Mr. Harvey S. Chase. Similar measures have been introduced, and possibly, by this time, passed, in the legislatures of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin and Michigan. Boston, Baltimore and Chicago have municipal statistical bureaus. As a whole session of the present conference will be devoted to the subject, nothing further need be said in this connection, except to chronicle the sad and untimely death of Mr. Charles Waldo Haskins, who remodeled the Chicago accounts and was an honored and useful member of the league's committee on uniform municipal accounting.

The report makes a plea for a consolidation or rather closer co-operation of the agencies that are now striving for municipal improvement:

"The rapid multiplication of agencies for municipal improvement has created a sentiment in favor of co-operation to increase efficiency and elimi-

nate possible duplication of efforts. So we find numerous city and state federations, and there is really no reason why there should not be a federation of all the national civic bodies, hence the consideration of this subject at the present session of the National Municipal League and its discussion by representatives of the several bodies most deeply interested. The American Park and Outdoor Art Association at its last annual meeting appointed a committee to deal with the whole subject, and out of this and the activities of kindred bodies working along similar lines we may expect something substantial."

Montana.²—*Quasi Public Works.* The legislative assembly of Montana has enacted a law which absolutely forbids the granting of any franchise whatever by a city or town council until the proposed franchise has been approved by a majority vote of the tax-paying freeholders resident in the city.

The report of the state commissioner of statistics shows franchises already in effect for waterworks in Butte, Helena, Anaconda, Missoula and Kalispell, and for street-car lines in Butte, Great Falls, Helena, Anaconda and Bozeman. The cities of Great Falls, Bozeman, Lewistown, Miles City, White Sulphur Springs, Red Lodge, Philipsburg and Fort Benton operate their own waterworks; the cities of Dillon and Chinook are establishing waterworks the present season, and the city of Helena is negotiating for the acquisition of the private plant. Miles City operates an electric light plant in connection with the waterworks.

Massachusetts.—*Uniformity in Municipal Accounting.*—During the last few years the movement in favor of uniformity in municipal accounting has borne fruit in a number of states. The desirability of such a system is generally recognized by every student of municipal affairs and in a number of cases has been urged upon the legislatures by the executive officials of various states. Governor Bates in his recent message to the Massachusetts legislature, puts the case very strongly in the following terms:

"Uniformity in city government is to be desired. General laws based on the experience of municipalities in the past would be of benefit to all. There should be provision by which each municipality could profit from the experience of the others. It has recently been brought forcibly to the public attention that there is no uniform system of municipal accounting in this commonwealth such as would permit the contrasting of the expenses of one municipality for a given purpose with those of another for the same purpose, thereby revealing extravagance, if such existed, and tending to encourage more economical administration.

"A law which would provide for such uniformity in the keeping of the accounts as would render possible such comparison would be of great benefit. Through the publicity which such a system would make possible, not only would greater economy be effected, but also useful knowledge would be obtained bearing upon the problems of municipal industries such as furnish water, gas and electricity. I may also add that the adoption of such a system would tend to the advantage of the municipalities in the matter of their credit, which would appear in the reduced rates at which bonds might be issued. Good

²Communication of H. H. Swain, President Montana State Normal College.

results have been derived from the laws in this state providing for a uniform system of accounting under which reports are made to the controller of county accounts. Uniform municipal accounting is but another step in the same direction. I trust you may find it possible to take favorable action along this line. This need not result in the establishment of a new department, but should properly be made a part of the work of the state auditor's department."

Pennsylvania.—*Ownership of Public Works.* The governor of Pennsylvania has recently vetoed a bill passed by both houses, which was designed to hand over to private corporations the drainage systems in townships of the first class. The governor's veto message is interesting, as it indicates his attitude towards the question of the ownership of public utilities. He points out that the maintenance of a system of sewerage is a municipal function and that sewers ought not to be made a subject of barter and sale.

Continuing, he says, "A private corporation is not a means well adapted for the performance of necessary public work. There is a divided duty. The service to the public is always affected by the fact that it is important to make a profit for the holders of stock. The bill authorizes the taking or improving of private property, under the guise of public benefit, and then authorizes the sale of this property to individuals or corporations, who presumably would not buy unless they could be assured a profit to themselves. If the time is come when there is need for township sewerage, the means ought to be provided by the townships, and the ownership ought to remain with them. The tendency of corporations to secure control of public works with a view to anticipated profits, and the easy-going disposition of the representatives of municipalities to permit such control to be secured, ought not to be encouraged or extended."

Direct Nominations.²—The system of direct nomination of candidates is constantly finding greater favor. During the past year the governors of nine states, Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado, Texas and Oregon, referred to the subject of nomination reform. In the legislatures of twenty states, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, South Carolina, Texas, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, North Dakota, California, Idaho, Washington, Oregon and California, bills were introduced dealing with the question in some phase or other. Six states, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Texas, Michigan and Wisconsin, passed primary bills. The Massachusetts law established direct primaries in Boston, and the law may be extended to cover all the cities in the state if successful there. The New Jersey law establishes direct primaries throughout the state. The New York law amends the existing statute and applying only to Greater New York is designed to prevent colonizing. The Michigan laws (three in number) establish direct primaries in Wayne, Kent and Muskegon Counties, the three most populous in the state. The Wisconsin law, which is the most complete and far reaching, does not become operative until after the voters have a chance to vote on it at the November, 1904, election.

The salient feature of these laws is the fixing of a single day for all

² Contributed by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary National Municipal League.

primaries; official supervision; the application of the principle of the Australian ballot, and provisions that the candidates receiving the highest votes shall be declared the nominees, thus eliminating the easily controlled and all too frequently corrupt nominating conventions. The success of the Minnesota law has proved to be a great stimulus to all direct nomination reformers.

New York City.⁴—*Plan for Relieving Taxation.* A forty-four page pamphlet has recently been issued which contains interesting information relative to a proposed plan to relieve taxation in New York City. Besides the text of a proposed legislative act, this pamphlet contains letters from Messrs. Stevenson, Grout and Levey, explaining the measure; memoranda of laws and ordinances relating to the sinking fund; and opinions upon the constitutionality of the plan by Judge Dillon, Mr. G. L. Rives, corporation counsel, Messrs. Strong and Cadwalader, Shepard and Whalen.

The so-called sinking fund problem which New York is called upon to solve arises from the fact that the city is annually placing in its sinking fund sums greatly in excess of the amount necessary ultimately to redeem the obligations which that fund is designed to meet. In 1844 an ordinance was passed appropriating to the sinking fund certain sources of revenue, such as the income from docks, water rents, license and franchise fees. In 1878 the legislature readjusted the sinking fund system by passing the "Bonded Indebtedness Act," section four of which contained a contractual pledge, by which certain revenues of the city were pledged to the sinking fund for the redemption of the city debt until all of the said debt was paid.

From this effort to throw every possible safeguard around the city's obligations has arisen the present embarrassing situation. The revenues pledged by the law of 1878 are so much in excess of the proportionate annual amount necessary to meet the ultimate obligation of the fund, that in 1928, when the final obligation is due, it is estimated there will be in the sinking fund nearly three hundred million dollars in excess of the amount required to redeem its obligations. (The excess during 1902 was \$8,465,106.)

The "sinking fund burden," then, is due to the fact that there are annually being collected and paid into the sinking fund sums greatly in excess of the amount needed ultimately to meet the obligations of that fund. The income from dock and water rents, franchise and license fees, etc., which in 1878 was not more than sufficient for sinking fund purposes, is now greatly in excess of the amount so needed. But no part of this income from these sources can be diverted from the sinking fund for the general purposes of the city, on account of the contract feature of the law of 1878, which contained a pledge to creditors that the funds then being paid into the sinking fund should continue to be paid into it until its obligations were canceled in 1928. The difference between the amount really needed for the sinking fund and the amount actually paid in (in 1902 over eight millions) is the additional burden placed upon the taxpayers by reason of this law.

Mr. James W. Stevenson, deputy comptroller, has proposed a plan to relieve this situation. This plan is, in brief, to authorize the annual issue of bonds to be known as "general fund bonds," to an amount equal to the

⁴ Contributed by W. B. Guitteau, Toledo, Ohio

difference between the annual net revenues of the sinking fund and the amount which would be required by that fund for scientific debt amortization. Such bonds to be purchased only by the commissioners of the sinking fund, and the proceeds paid into the fund for the reduction of taxation. Interest is to be paid on these bonds, but upon their cancellation no payment of cash into the sinking fund is to be made, provided that at that time all outstanding bonds redeemable from the sinking fund are paid. In other words, the proposed general fund bonds are only nominal additions to the funded debt, whose sole object is to render available for general purposes revenues which must be paid into the sinking fund, but which are in excess of the requirements of that fund. It is an admittedly technical device to meet a technical and artificial condition.

The plan thus briefly outlined has been approved by Mayor Low, Comptroller Edward M. Grout and Edgar J. Levey, former deputy comptroller. Opinions of five leading New York attorneys are given at length, all of whom agree that the proposed measure is constitutional. Judge Dillon declares: "In my opinion, not only will the proposed statute, if enacted, be free from objection on constitutional or other legal grounds, but its enactment is desirable and advisable so far as it concerns the city's creditors, as well as so far as it concerns the city." Messrs. Strong and Cadwalader, while agreeing that the plan is "technically legal," point out that while in *form* it authorizes an issue and purchase of bonds (thus complying with the legal requirement that sinking fund revenues must be invested in corporate stock of the city), in *substance* the plan is nothing but an application of sinking fund moneys to the general expenses of city government; "an application not towards the reduction of city debt, but to the relief of taxation, a purpose which though permitted by the *letter* of the contract, is certainly contrary to the *purpose* it was designed to accomplish." The feature of the plan of especial interest to taxpayers is that it would reduce taxation by 10 per cent at present, and by a still larger percentage in subsequent years.

The Municipal Association of Cleveland.⁶—The Municipal Association of Cleveland interests itself in a wider range of activities than those which engage the attention of the greater number of good-government organizations in other cities. Because the political affairs of the county of Cuyahoga and of the city of Cleveland are closely related, it exerts its influence in the selection of county officials as well as in the selection of officials whose duties are purely municipal. The direction of public expenditures, the conduct of officials and matters of administration have been regarded as proper subjects for its consideration.

An opinion rendered by the Supreme Court of Ohio in the spring of 1902 made necessary the convening of the legislature in extraordinary session for the enacting of a uniform code for the government of Ohio municipal corporations. Prior to the meeting of the legislature the executive committee of the association made a careful study of representative codes in operation throughout the country and collected a considerable amount of information, both academic and practical, bearing upon the subject. The association availed itself

⁶ Contributed by F. E. Stevens, Secretary Municipal Association of Cleveland.

of an opportunity offered, through invitation from the code committee of the legislature, to submit its conclusions. Two members of the executive committee, having been delegated for that purpose, urged upon the legislature the adoption of the "Federal Plan" of municipal government. The "Federal Plan" corresponds in all essential details with the municipal program prepared by a committee of the National Municipal League. The executive committee of the association was unanimous in its recommendation of this system. The legislature adopted a board plan of government similar to that which for some time has been in force in Cincinnati.

The association has striven for non-partisanship in local affairs. The election of county officials in November last was peculiarly gratifying from this point of view. In its published bulletins giving records and qualifications of the twelve officials elected on the county ticket the association recommended six, indicated a preference for two, assumed a neutral or indifferent attitude as to three and urged the defeat of one. Seven Democrats and five Republicans were elected with pluralities ranging from 500 to 9,000.

In the municipal campaign of this year the association opposed the re-election of Hon. Tom L. Johnson to the mayoralty. In giving the reason for this opposition the bulletin said: "We condemn as inimical to public morals his lax treatment of the midnight and Sunday closing ordinances and as dangerous to good government his system of demanding and receiving from councilmanic candidates pre-election pledges. . . . When machine builders and political bosses seek election to office they should, in the judgment of the association, be opposed, even though as men they bear good reputations." Mr. Johnson was elected on a platform pledging him and the candidates on his ticket to every effort to secure the installation of a street railway system with three-cent cash fare and universal transfers.

Street Railways. Mayor Johnson's efforts to establish a new street railway system are now claiming public attention. Some time ago an ordinance passed the city council inviting competitive bids for the construction of street railway lines along eleven routes prescribed in the ordinances. This measure specified that bids would not be considered which provided for a rate higher than three-cent cash fare. But two bidders responded asking for franchises over only two of the routes. One of the bidders desires a franchise as a link in a proposed suburban line. The other bidder, the People's Railway Company, asks a franchise over one of the more desirable routes. Three-cent cash fare, five tickets for fifteen cents and universal transfers over all lines hereafter to be constructed by the company or its successors are offered.

Mayor Johnson states that he is not disappointed over the failure to secure a greater number of bids. He anticipates a contest in the courts and is of the opinion that this contest will be simplified if it involves but one route. Legal obstacles having once been removed, he claims that additional lines may more readily be constructed through the medium of grants of extensions to the established line than through original grants of franchise.

The Cleveland Electric Railway Company, which owns all existing lines, has made a formal protest, basing its objection principally upon the claim that it was unable to submit proposals for the construction of lines over the new

routes because of the provision limiting the rate of fare to three cents. This provision it claims works a hardship and cannot be complied with. This company will at an early date apply to the city council for franchises permitting it to extend its lines over some of the routes prescribed in the three-cent fare railway ordinances. A spirited contest will undoubtedly result. The Cleveland Electric Railway Company now sells six tickets for twenty-five cents and provides universal transfers. These terms have been in force since July 1 of this year.

Cincinnati.^{*}—*Civic Organization.* During the recent spring campaign there was organized The Citizens' Municipal Party. Since the election, in which this new party was overwhelmingly defeated, it has been deemed wise to continue the organization. An executive committee composed of active and fearless men has been chosen, and this committee will guard the rights of all citizens. Already the re-trial of a former official charged with embezzlement has been demanded, and the prosecuting attorney has consented. The committee is likewise demanding that suits against the bondsmen of other defaulting officials be prosecuted. The committee is issuing a four-page weekly, called *The Citizens' Bulletin*, devoted to the interests of good local government.

Constitutional Amendments. The electors of the State of Ohio will have an opportunity of voting for five constitutional amendments this fall. (1) Granting the governor a veto. This amendment, unlike the provision of the United States Constitution and those of most of the states, gives the governor the power of disapproving of any part of a bill, and also provides that to override the veto on repassage, the bill must receive, in addition to a two-thirds vote, at least the same number of votes that the measure had originally. Owing to these peculiar features the amendment has been disapproved of by the State Bar Association, but as the Republican Convention indorsed the same, it will undoubtedly become a law. (2) To abolish the double stock liability of corporations; this amendment has been indorsed and will no doubt prevail. (3) To give each county at least one representative in the house of representatives; this also will prevail. The other two amendments, one (4) providing for the classification of property for purposes of taxation, and (5) providing for three classes of cities, 100,000 or more, less than 100,000 and more than 25,000, and less than 25,000, so as to permit legislation by classes, have not been indorsed by the Republican Convention, and will, therefore, probably fail.

Heretofore votes on constitutional amendments have been on separate ballots, but this year by law it has been provided that any party may approve or disapprove of any amendment, and that when this is done, such amendment shall be printed on the official ballot, and a vote for the straight ticket shall be counted as a vote in favor of the action taken by the party on the amendment. As the Republican party is the dominant party in Ohio, and as that party has declared in favor of giving the governor a veto, abolishing double-stock liability on corporations, and giving each county at least one

^{*}Communication of Max B. May, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.

representative in the house of representatives, it is believed that these amendments will be adopted, and that the others will fail.

Providence.—Street Railways. By act of the General Assembly, May 23, 1893, the Union Railroad Company was given an exclusive franchise in Providence for twenty years from May 3, 1892. The contract with the city contains the usual provisions for paving and for the ordering of new lines or change of old ones by the city. The rate of special tax on gross earnings was 3 per cent up to 1897; 5 per cent since then. The act did not provide for transfers, and for ten years the people demanded them in vain. Eighteen months ago, to meet the rising tide of public sentiment, the company put forward a transfer station plan. This met with such disfavor that it was finally dropped. The company, however, announced itself as "unalterably opposed to transfer tickets," but the re-election of Mayor D. L. D. Granger in November, 1901, on that issue, by a vote more than double that of his opponent, opened the eyes of the company. We now have transfer tickets, but it took ten years to get them. The Union Railroad Company sold out or was leased in 1895 to the United Traction Company of New Jersey, which in turn sold to the Rhode Island Company last spring, and it, in turn, to the Rhode Island Securities Company. In this last transaction was a lease of the lines for 999 years, during which period there is a guarantee of 5 per cent on the \$8,000,000 stock of the Traction Company. The men in these companies are for the most part the same. They desire a *perpetual franchise*, and they think they have it. By the terms of an act passed by the legislature in May, 1898, by which the company is to pay to the state an annual tax of 1 per cent on its gross income, it was guaranteed all the rights and privileges it then had, *so long as it should pay that tax*. However, it is doubted by many good lawyers whether this does give a perpetual franchise. The company's property is probably worth something like \$5,000,000. It is capitalized (stock and bonds) at \$17,000,000; and is taxed for \$1,396,000.

After some years of agitation, the street railway employees obtained from the legislature last spring, a law making ten hours within twelve, a day's work for them. This is similar to the Massachusetts law. The company at first announced that it would comply with the law, but at the last moment it posted notices telling its employes that any who wished to work the ten hours could do so, but with a corresponding reduction in wages (10 to 20 per cent), and also advising them that they could make a special contract to work the old hours, despite the law. The men, recently organized, struck, except a few of the oldest. The strike, possibly injudicious, and at any rate not well managed, was broken by the importation of professional "strike-breakers," furnished by a combination of the street railroad companies of the country, and the men are nearly back at work again. Several indictments have been found against the company, and the cases will be carried to the United States Supreme Court, to determine whether the law is constitutional. Meanwhile it is nullified.

The following table shows the receipts from the special taxes laid on the gross income of the four companies working the public utilities:

Table of the Special Taxes on Gross Receipts of the Public Utilities Corporations of Providence.

| YEAR ENDING JUNE 30. | Telephone Company. | Gas Company. | Electric Light Company. | Street Railroad Company. | Total. |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| 1892 | | | | | \$7,025 |
| 1893 | \$2,325 | \$15,749 | \$7,661 | \$22,346 | 48,081 |
| 1894 | 2,498 | 16,097 | 13,725† | 22,070 | 51,465 |
| 1895 | 2,555 | 17,123 | 9,037 | 24,413 | 53,128 |
| 1896 | 2,821 | 18,702 | 13,102 | 27,430 | 62,065 |
| 1897 | 3,131 | 16,500 | 13,705 | 26,745 | 60,281 |
| 1898 | 3,091 | 17,504 | 14,364 | 45,368 | 80,327 |
| 1899 | 3,264 | 19,474 | 25,434 | 46,004 | 94,176 |
| 1900 | 5,360* | 21,254 | 27,548 | 51,174 | 105,336 |
| 1901 | 7,878 | 21,758 | 29,107 | 58,435 | 117,178 |
| 1902 | 8,775 | 22,794 | 33,319 | 61,092 | 125,980 |

* Nine months.

† Fifteen months.

The \$7,025 in 1892 was for "use of streets."

Rates of taxes are as follows:

Telephone Company, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to and including 1899, 3 per cent after that.

Gas Company, 3 per cent.

Electric Light Company, 3 per cent to and including 1898, 5 per cent after that.

Street Railway Company, 3 per cent to and including 1897, 5 per cent after that.

Water Works.—The Providence Water Works is the only public utility owned and managed by the city. The cost of construction and maintenance to September 30, 1901, was in round numbers, nine millions, and interest payments the same. Total receipts were \$11,000,000, covering interest and reducing net cost to \$7,000,000. Last year the receipts were \$615,000, and after interest and cost of management were paid, \$252,000 was added to the sinking fund, which now amounts to about a million dollars. Rates are moderate, being a minimum of \$10,000 a year per dwelling house when a meter is used, and twenty cents per 1,000 gallons for excess over the limit of 50,000 gallons.

The city has just contracted for a sand filter plant to cost a million dollars. At the present rate the receipts will pay the added interest and sink the new debt long before its maturity. Comparing the water works with the four other public utilities, we find that their special tax was \$125,900 in 1902, and their regular tax on property about \$70,000, making a total revenue of about \$196,000. The water works alone gave a net revenue of \$252,000. Managed so quietly and easily as to attract no attention, and with such splendid financial success, it is a standing answer to the doctrinaire objectors to municipal ownership.

Duluth.⁷—*Civic Activity.* One notable demonstration of sustained civic progress may be cited. Duluth has made a success of the municipal administration of her gas plant, and is now furnishing gas to consumers for all purposes at \$1.00 per thousand feet, with 90 cents per thousand in clear view in the near future. It so happens, that, in connection with the establishment of a new local industry, to-wit: the manufacture of coke, a gas suitable for lighting and heating purposes is to be generated in large quantities as a by-product. This naturally led up to the question of reaching the consumers now supplied by the municipal plant, and the question of buying or leasing the municipal gas plant was seriously broached.

The city was put to the test and the permanency of municipal control determined. It was a crucial moment, but the civic spirit of the citizens generally and of the board of Water and Light Commissioners and the common council, in particular, was too well developed to permit any such retrogression, and the principle of municipal control remained triumphant.

The upshot of the matter was an amicable and wholesome arrangement with the private company by which the city, under conditions dictated by it and on a most favorable and graduated basis of cost, will become the exclusive customer of the private company for and the sole distributee of all gas consumed by the citizens of Duluth for heating and lighting purposes, the city receiving the gas into its pipes at the line of the company's property and retaining exclusive control over the distribution thereof and over its present plant and all future extensions thereof.

FOREIGN

New South Wales.—*Street Railways.* Throughout Australia the railroads are the property of the government with one or two quite unimportant exceptions. The street railways, or tramways as they are called, are also owned by the government in some states, while in others they are the property of private companies. In New South Wales, which is the oldest state on the continent, the tramways belong to the government and are under the control of the railway commissioners, to the chief of whom, Mr. C. N. J. Oliver, we are indebted for most of the information contained in this communication.

The principal system of tramways is located in Sydney, the capital city of the state, which has a population of about 500,000 persons. As far back as 1861 the government recognized the necessity for improving the means of transit in the city and suburbs and established a system of horse-trams, which, however, after a fitful experience of some five years was discontinued. Nothing more was done in this direction for thirteen years when, for the purpose of forming a means of connection between the railway terminus and the great exhibition of 1879, a line of steam trams was built. The success which attended this experiment was so great that rapid extension took place and was continued uninterruptedly until four years ago, when the electric system was introduced, which is rapidly superseding steam traction. Mean-

⁷ Communication of W. G. Joerns, Esq., Duluth.

while some few miles of cable system has been laid, but the electric traction proving so superior it will soon be wholly converted.

At the present time there are about 87 miles of tramroad, equaling 130 miles of single track, within the city and suburban area, established at a capital cost of about two and one-half million pounds. Rapid extension is still proceeding and other routes will shortly be opened for traffic.

Under the Government Railway Act the commissioners have conferred upon them

“All necessary rights of ingress and egress in, to, and over the surface of any street, road, highway, or thoroughfare, proclaimed, reserved, or dedicated for the use of the public, or subject to any public easement,
for the purpose of constructing, repairing, and maintaining the tramways. They are also empowered to “open up the surface of any road” for the same purposes; and may

erect, support and maintain above the level of, and across any such road, such wires and other electric apparatus as are, in their opinion, necessary for the official use and maintenance of electric traction on such tramways.”

This act also confers upon the commissioners the power to make by-laws, which, after publication in the “Government Gazette,” have the force of law. One of these by-laws enacts that

“Any person who shall without authority interfere with or alter any part of the tramway, or any work connected therewith, or with any mechanical or electrical appliances used in the working thereof, or shall wilfully place or throw or allow to be placed or thrown any gravel, stones, dirt, refuse, or other material whatsoever, in or upon any part of the tramway lines, or the works or wheels in connection therewith; or shall wilfully do, or cause to be done, anything which shall obstruct the free passage of any engine, motor, or vehicle used on the tramways or endanger the lives of persons traveling thereon shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding £10.

Considerable conflict of opinion exists between the municipal authorities and the government as to the disturbance of the powers of the former over the streets because of the authority given to the railway commissioners. The following sections of “The Railway Act of 1901” define the extent of the commissioners’ authority within municipal areas:

“The commissioners may construct tramways for conveying passengers and their luggage along any route within the city of Sydney and the suburbs thereof which may be approved by the governor, notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in or implied by the Sydney Corporation Act of 1879, the Municipalities Act 1897, or any other act whatsoever.

“Provided that nothing herein contained shall impair or be held to impair the lawful authority of the municipal council of the city of Sydney, or of the council of any municipality, or of any other corporation, company, or person to make all entries, and exercise all other

powers necessary for the construction, maintenance, and preservation of gasworks, waterworks, sewerageworks, and other works lawfully constructed underground in such streets, roads, highways, or thoroughfares along which any such tramway passes.

"The tramways shall in every case and throughout their course be laid at or about the general level of the streets and highways along which they are to be constructed, but the commissioners may with the consent of or by mutual agreement with the municipal council in which is vested the control and management of any street or highway alter and improve the levels thereof.

"Provided that all reasonable expenses incurred in the re-formation of the said streets or roads so altered and improved shall be borne by the commissioners unless otherwise agreed upon.

"The commissioners shall maintain in perfect order and repair the said tramways and the pavements of the same between the rails of the said tramways, and for the space of one foot and six inches on either side of such rails.

"The commissioners shall immediately repair any damage which may during or by reason of the construction of the said tramways be occasioned to any sewer, or drain, or gas or water main, and shall also repair all damages which may be occasioned by the working of the said tramways.

"The commissioners may erect buildings or other structures for the purposes of the said tramways, and may construct lines of approach thereto."

It will thus be seen that the commissioners have absolute power over the streets so far as the tramway system is concerned.

The municipal council contend that they are entitled to receive from the commissioners a rental for the use of the streets, their argument being that they are charged with the responsibility of maintaining the streets in good order and keeping them clean, and yet the tramway authorities are permitted to make the fullest use of the streets without making any contribution whatever to the revenues of the council. To this the commissioners reply that not only do they make and maintain the entire track of the tramways and eighteen inches beyond the outer rails (a total width of about twenty feet on a double track), but they carry vast numbers of passengers who otherwise would use omnibuses and other vehicles. Hence they contend that the municipal council is saved the cost of making good the wear and tear on the streets which other passenger vehicles would cause, and are moreover relieved of the entire cost of maintaining about a third of the roadways along which the trams pass.

Whatever may be said in favor of the municipal control of tramways, the fact remains that in Sydney at all events there is no central municipal authority to exercise control over the city and suburban areas. Whether or not the present system best meets the requirements of the people may be judged by the success which has attended the scheme. In this connection it is interesting to note that the expenditure on construction and equip-

ment throughout the whole state (the great bulk being in the metropolitan area) increased from £877,000 in 1888 to £2,830,000 in 1902. The mileage open to traffic in the same years increased from 38 to 104, and the earnings from £236,000 to £632,000. No statistics were kept for the former year of the number of passengers carried, but in 1902 the number exceeded 108,000,000, being an increase of nearly 15,000,000 on the figures for the previous year. A splendid service of trams is provided and the fares are remarkably low. The routes are divided into penny sections averaging two miles in length, the longest through run being eleven and one-half miles for which the fare is sixpence.

As already pointed out, in several of the principal cities of the other states the tramways are run by private enterprise, but in Sydney they are state-owned. Whatever may be the drawbacks of government undertakings in other directions, so far as the tramways are concerned the result has been the introduction of a most excellent system, ably controlled and meeting with the general approval of the public.

II. DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Impressions of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Held in Atlanta, Georgia, May 6, 1903.¹—Impressions are those light and airy thoughts which spring up in the mind as a result of what we see and hear: those ideas which come back to memory when the occasion has passed away. They are not opinions, they are not convictions; merely passing thoughts born of seeing and hearing. The first thing that impressed me in this grand Conference was the extent and variety of thought and opinion represented by it. Persons of both sexes, of every age, of all creeds and conditions, gathered here freely and amicably; Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew. Rich and poor; high and low; employer and employee; expert and novice were here. Perhaps no other movement could so unite contending and contradictory beliefs and interests. Charity has proved herself the very bond of peace and of all virtues. Pope's lines begin to fulfill themselves:

"In forms and views the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity."

Yet one thing I noticed that was absent, while every class and creed and condition was represented, no negro was to be seen in all the Conference. This was passing strange. In the midst of a population of nearly nine millions not a single representative of that race was present. In the midst of the negro problem not an exponent of any system or doctrine was able to speak for the negro as one of the race. Not a mile away was the Atlanta University, where Professor Dubois was at work, whose recent book, "The Souls of Black Folk," was exciting much popular interest. He was not present at any of the meetings. Booker T. Washington's school at Tuskegee is about five hours distant from Atlanta. Many of the delegates went to see the institution, but Mr. Washington did not come to tell the Conference what he had been saying in his latest book, "The Future of the Negro."

I was impressed with the prominence of the child in all the discussions. The oldest and the youngest men and women devoted their best energies to his defence. The dependent child, the toiling child,—the child defender made charity tender, beautiful, eloquent. One of the best meetings of the Conference was that on the subject of child labor. Miss Grace Adams, Mr. Edgar Murphy, Mr. Tompkins and Mr. Hoke Smith spoke with force and authority for the protection of the child. Surely something must be done in Georgia in the shape of protective legislation for children.

Next to the child question was the discussion of the home. The home was glorified and exalted, institutions, except for rare and extraordinary cases, were discussed and denounced. Dependent children, it was said again and again, must be placed in homes, not in asylums and orphanages. Social

¹ Contributed by Ben. J. R. Alterson, Esq.

settlements and boys' clubs must not lead the child away from home. Constant effort must be made to purify and humanize the home.

A point so much emphasized and so often repeated convinces us all that no place has the educational or moral value of a home. Next in importance was the insistence upon the family as a social unit. A question as to whether it was easier or more profitable to work with children than with older people, especially the parents, Miss Adams promptly answered. She said: "We find it easier to work with and for all the family, our constant effort is to keep the family together. We train the children to admire the arts and virtues which their parents have brought with them from the old country, we stimulate in them love for the mother tongue, Italian, Greek, Syrian, and also a taste for the crafts of the old home—needlework, embroidery, wood-carving and the like. We strive to unite the family, to make it the social unit." So said all the speakers. The effort plainly is to restore children to parents, husbands to wives, to unite broken ties and to foster family life.

Thinking of all these things the casual observer could not but come at last to the conclusion that all these problems are not social merely, or racial merely, or industrial merely, or even—recalling the Philippine difficulty—national merely. They are human problems, how to train the child, how to preserve the home, how to bind the family by sweet and enduring ties, how to live together as men and women doing justice, showing mercy and walking humbly with our God.

What charity does to-day for the poorer classes it may have to do to-morrow for the richer people, who have forgotten sometimes that the child, the home and the family are the fountain of life. And is not that the great need? Life—life more abundant—life that is life indeed. It was a great Conference. One of the delegates at least carries with him impressions and convictions that will enlarge his heart and quicken his zeal for all the years to come.

Convict Labor. In arranging the program for the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, provision is always made for visits to local institutions. The members of the Conference are men and women of experience in the management of penal affairs, who know all the difficulties of running institutions successfully, and fully appreciate the evils of sensationalism in the publication of criminal news items. Their visits are usually of the friendliest character, and their attitude is never hypercritical. When, therefore, they are so deeply stirred as they were by their visit to the Atlanta stockade, it is evident that a serious evil exists which must be remedied. This stockade is the place where the state sends all its minor offenders, who come under the jurisdiction of the police court. All of the men and boys wear leg-irons, and are worked out-of-doors in quarrying, truck-farming, and road-making. The work is wholesome and the prisoners are sufficiently fed, but the buildings and sleeping quarters are dirty and the dining-room, which is also the living-room and all, is unspeakably foul. As we stood on the platform overlooking this room, men, women and children ate and joked together in promiscuous proximity, though the whites kept themselves apart

from the blacks. Young lads were trying to brazen out their real shame in defiant association with hardened old-timers, a few soldiers in the uniform of the United States sat in sullen silence under the indignity of our public observation; and when, at the warden's direction, hymns were sung for our entertainment the negroes alone responded in emotional abandon, while the whites kept their lips tightly closed with an angry intensity which spoke more eloquently than words of the injustice of their treatment. We were shown the whipping chair, which is a rude invention of an official, and is so devised that the victim, after being strapped, is turned face downwards on the ground. The whipping boss spoke of it as a humane device because it kept the victim from thrashing about in his agony and thus injuring himself. Even his cries are smothered by the apparatus and the "*deus ex machina*" can wield the whip with the deliberate care and concentration of a practiced marksman. The reports which the local press drew from various members of the Conference in regard to this stockade made a great stir and the commissioner of public works has demanded an investigation. It is the system, however, which is mainly at fault. The dominant ideas of prison management, not only in Atlanta but in many of the Southern states, are simply retribution and economy. The possibility of reformation within penal institutions is a new idea to the men who manage stockades and convict camps. In the Chattahoochee brickyards, near Atlanta, which lease two hundred convicts from Fulton county, it is a matter of self-interest with the lessee to feed the men well. But at night the 170 negroes are locked in their dormitories with absolutely no restraint or supervision. From dusk until daylight they are simply abandoned to their own vicious inclinations. The contractor agrees to feed, clothe and house the prisoner, and to pay a stipulated sum for his services. So long as the man's habits do not seriously incapacitate him for work the contractor does not care what happens. It costs money to train morals or to do educational or reformatory work of any kind, and there is nothing in the bargain to warrant this expense. The following are a few strong indications that the Southern press is beginning to demand a better system:

Memphis Commercial Appeal: "The stories coming from the convict camp at the Brushy Mountain mines, with sidelights from the state's convict system, generally, furnish painful reading to the people of Tennessee. The facts brought out by the legislative investigating committee may be regarded as mere pocket-mining or surface nugget-hunting that has not reached the rich deposit submerged.

"Convicts have been whipped to death. Convicts have been whipped into physical helplessness. Convicts have been whipped sufficiently to keep them in bed for months and injure them permanently.

"The report of the legislative committee should not be passed by hurriedly. The bottom of this ugly scandal should be reached if it compels an extra session. Convicts condemned to penal servitude are still human and they should be humanely treated. Torturing them in the prison or mine recesses is a sin against high heaven. Of course the pilfering and plundering ought to cease, the guilty be made to disgorge and proper punishment

inflicted upon them; but the treatment of the convicts should be first attended to."

Among the recommendations of the legislative committee, the following, reported in the Nashville (Tenn.) *News*, are particularly suggestive:

"We recommend that the rules of the prison, both at Nashville and at Brushy Mountain, absolutely prohibit the use of all intoxicating liquors on the state's property by all its employees, both while on duty and off duty, except when prescribed by the prison physician.

"That the management of the state prison be divorced from politics as much as possible, and that every employee stand upon his merits alone.

"That the punishment of prisoners be changed from the present method for all minor offences; that in all cases of serious character, punishment by whipping be done with a strap half the size and weight of that used at present, save as to width and length; that for the first offence of a serious character they be whipped without being stripped; that only for very grave offences shall they be whipped upon the naked body; that they shall not be struck more than ten licks for any offence, and under no circumstances shall a prisoner be whipped, except by an officer, in the presence of an officer, and upon the recommendation of an officer.

"That an investigation be made by the prison commissioners to ascertain what method of punishment is in practice in other states, and that a more humane method of punishment be devised.

"That female prisoners be corrected without being whipped, except in most extreme cases.

"That the prisoners be allowed more outdoor exercise, and this especially applies to the main prison.

"That convict stores in the wings of the prison at Nashville be abolished, but that they be permitted to remain at Brushy Mountain, with every safeguard thrown around them to prevent smuggling of contraband articles.

"That the straw in the beds of the convicts be changed oftener and the bedding be washed more frequently, and that convicts on the upper walks of the main prison be required to keep their rooms in better order.

"That all prisoners at Brushy Mountain under sixteen years of age be immediately transferred to the main prison, and that a parole system be devised and adopted for prisoners under sixteen years of age."

Nashville (Tenn.) *Banner*: "It was for some years argued in Tennessee, that the state could not profitably abandon the barbarous lease system, but the more enlightened plan which followed the building of the new penitentiary in this state has brought the state a handsome revenue instead of proving a burden, as the advocates of the old system had urged that it would do. The lease system should be wholly abolished in all of the Southern states and plans of dealing with convict labor that better comport with the civilized spirit of the age, substituted in their stead.

"Yet, even under such a system as we have in Tennessee, there is need of the best safeguards and restrictions to prevent abuses, especially in the treatment of the prisoners."

Birmingham (Ala.) *News*: "One hundred per cent increase in the

state's revenue from convicts in three months, over the same period last year, is shown by the quarterly report of the convict department submitted yesterday to Governor Jenks.

"This increase is due to the change in the method of working the convicts, which became operative with the beginning of the present year. They are now worked under the immediate supervision of the state instead of being leased to the mine operators.

"The president of the board of convict inspectors reports that: 'The condition of the convicts at all the prisons, both under the control of the convict department and of the contractors, is as good, perhaps, better, than at any other time in the past.

"The percentage of deaths, I think, is smaller than it has been in the springtime for several years. Most of those who die are men and boys who have tuberculosis and would probably die, many of them, if they were not convicts. A considerable percentage of negroes convicted and sentenced to penitentiary imprisonment go there with venereal diseases which, if not remedied, develop rapidly into tuberculosis and in many instances result in death. These things are guarded against as closely as may be and many of those afflicted with them are rescued.

"Hospital conveniences are being steadily improved by contractors, and it may be said that many of them are now very good."

On July 1 of the present year the Illinois law, enacted in May last, took effect, abolishing contract convict labor, and providing for the employment of convicts for eight hours a day in manufacturing articles used by the state. It is substantially a duplicate of the measure recommended by the National Industrial Commission. This plan is known as the State Use System and was adopted in New York six years ago and in Massachusetts four years ago. In neither state has it been given such a trial as would declare it an unqualified success. Still it seems at present to be far superior to other plans and there is every reason to believe that it will be universally adopted. It has two good features. It provides proper employment for the prisoners and does not come into appreciable competition with free labor. Under this plan the prison becomes an industrial school, where many trades are taught and practiced and what is lost by the state in an economical sense it must gain in the improvement in the character of the convicts.

Women Tenement Inspectors in New York.²—Since October, 1902, the New York tenement house department has employed a small force of women inspectors of whom the same work is required as that done by men; and it may be said that the physical strain involved has not proved a serious obstacle to the work. After a few months the women inspectors are able to stand the active physical exercise for hours at a time and exposure to bad weather and to extremes of heat and cold without feeling any ill-effects and are indeed often in better health than when engaged in supposedly less trying work. Each inspector has a district assigned to her and is responsible for the sanitary supervision of the tenement houses there.

²Contributed by Emily W. Dinwiddie.

Her hours of field work are from 8.55 a. m. to 4 p. m. All details and statements of violation of the law being written after 4 o'clock from memoranda noted down during inspections. After filing at the office of the department her reports of her work of the preceding day she receives abstracts of the complaints which have been sent to headquarters in regard to insanitary conditions in her district. She receives re-inspection orders from the office forces and notices of the closing of contagious disease cases by the department of health. The complaints, as a rule, are investigated first. The inspector is kept in ignorance of the source from which these complaints come and she can truthfully disclaim all knowledge to the landlord who asks the name of the tenant reporting his house. In this way the occupants of tenement houses are now protected, it having previously been the custom of many landlords and agents to dispossess any family making a complaint of the house. This class of investigations varies greatly. One tenant will report simply rubbish in cellar or roof leaking, in which case the inspector need only see the part of the building specified and ascertain the occupants and arrangements of the house, learn whether it is a tenement or not and secure the name and address of the owner or agent in case the building is a tenement and there proves to be violation of the law. The law provides that tenements must be kept in sanitary condition and be properly lighted and ventilated and the tenants protected against fire. Other complaints necessitate a full inspection of the whole premises and building, a matter requiring considerable time, and complaints are sometimes sent in of houses which the inspector finds are not tenements, that is are not occupied or arranged to be occupied by three families or more doing cooking on the premises. These are referred to the department of health, such buildings being under its jurisdiction. Next to complaints in order of urgency come the re-inspections. When a report has been made of violations of the law in any tenement and the department has issued orders that these violations be removed, instructions are given the inspector to visit and learn whether the orders have been properly and fully complied with. If the walls were to be cleaned and the owner has had them papered she must learn whether all old paper has been removed before the new was put on. If plumbing repairs have been done she must learn whether the work has been in accordance with the plumber's requisition. When the re-inspections are finished investigations must still be made. After the recovery, removal or death of an infectious disease patient in a tenement house the department of health fumigates the apartment and the tenement inspector is then sent out to make a careful and thorough inspection of the whole building and premises, reporting in detail any insanitary conditions which she finds there. The inspection usually involves much hunting up of keys and often causes insolent or assumed surprise on the part of the janitor and tenants at the condition of old closed cellars, etc., and decayed pipes—sometimes sub-cellars are discovered floated several inches deep with foul water—while the tenants upstairs are priding themselves on the appearance of the houses which were veritable whited sepulchres. Such conditions as these are frequently found in the houses by the house inspector. Sometimes the state of the house is known to the

tenants, but they do not dare to complain or are too ignorant to do so or are accustomed to living in such surroundings, and by their indifference allow the house to become a menace to the health of the neighborhood. One Italian tenement when inspected was in so foul a condition that the odors from the premises could be noticed in four adjoining houses. The tenement dwellers view of the inspectors varies. As a rule they are cordially welcomed by housekeepers and tenants anxious to pour tales of grievances into their ears or to display unusual cleanliness and order. Agents and landlords when found on the premises are usually courteous and interested and ready to assist the inspection in any way. Sometimes, however, occupants of apartment houses or even of wretched hovels resent having their dwellings classed as tenements and inspected by the tenement house department, but this opposition grows less as time goes on and the new department becomes better known. Occasionally owners and housekeepers of badly kept houses or ignorant and easily frightened foreigners try to block the inspector's way, but a display of the badge and the printed copy of the New York charter giving the officers of the department the right of entrance, with a quiet explanation of the purpose of the visit, is usually sufficient to secure admission. It is very seldom that the assistance of the police officers of the department are called in, this being an extreme measure.

What are known as "spite" letters are quite frequent. A dispossessed tenant or one who for any reason has quarreled with the janitor or owner will often send a letter describing a house as in a very bad state when inspection will show that the report is utterly false. As a field for social study the inspectorship offers unusual opportunities. A woman undertaking the work has the entree to every tenement house in one or more districts, covering a considerable area. She has the advantage of a simple relation with the people she meets. Their daily life goes on undisturbed before her. They are not asking favors or striving in any way to appear any greater or less than they are in reality. The actual construction and arrangement of the house is full of meaning to the trained inspector who comes to take the same interest in the building as a doctor feels in his patients. There is a distinct pleasure in getting to the bottom of the difficulty in an involved case of bad plumbing or in re-inspecting a formerly dilapidated tenement house and finding that the entire building has been put in good order and repair. The marked improvement in the housing conditions throughout the district is of course the inspector's great encouragement. She also feels that the organization of a new civic department such as this is worthy of study and that the justification by its results, of a system of legislative interference on a large scale, is full of interest.

Playgrounds in New York Parks.—On July first seven playgrounds in the parks of Manhattan were opened, fully equipped with gymnastic apparatus for the use of both boys and girls, each in charge of a skilled teacher, who gives free lessons. In addition to these free playgrounds and free gymnasiums there are also free kindergartens where children can receive free instruction in basket weaving, play games and sing songs every day on the grass under the trees. All exercises will take place in daylight. The parks

included in this plan are "the Hamilton-Fish" of three and a half acres, in one of the most densely populated districts in Manhattan. William H. Seward Park is in an equally congested district, and contains three and a half acres. Next is Tompkins Square Park, with ten and a half acres; Concais Hook Park, consisting of eight and a half acres, on the East River; next the East River Park of twelve and a half acres, and Thomas Jefferson Park of fifteen and a half acres. The only west side park is the De Witt Clinton. The people living on the east side of New York are showing their appreciation of the efforts made in their behalf by the city reform administration. They are anxious to advance and are striving earnestly to better conditions and as far as they are able have joined hands with Mayor Low, Commissioners de Forest, Wilcox and Greene and District Attorney Jerome. They realize that their homes are made safer and cleaner and that playgrounds and parks are provided for them and their children. The plan which is now under consideration of grouping public buildings and playgrounds to form civic centres is one which should have the support of all. Very little thought has heretofore been given to beautifying the east side of New York and the fact that this grouping is being considered is eloquent testimony to progress. It means better health and better morals, and in a sense it means the regeneration of the east side of the city. The specific illustration of a civic centre is the one now urged by Mr. Robert Hunter in the block bounded by Eldridge, Rodneyson, Allen and Delancy streets. The University settlement now owns three blocks in this district. The plan places a Carnegie library at one corner adjoining the settlement, one of New York's finest schools now faces the block, in the centre will be a public bath and the rest of this space is to be given up to playgrounds for the hundreds of children who attend the school and the settlement kindergarten classes. If this plan is accepted there will be at least five public buildings grouped, two of them already built, and there will be a breathing space assured for one of the most densely populated districts in the world. The University settlement in Henry street is seeking improvements for its district and is urging the state to acquire the water front strip between Concais Hook Park and the water line. If this strip can be joined to the park the east side will have its own river side promenade, with a view looking over to the Navy Yard.

The Boston Children's Aid Society.—The last report of the secretary of the Children's Aid Society is very interesting reading. The object of the society is to secure for unfortunate children a fair chance in the world and to save them from physical and moral wreck. Ordinary methods are not always used in dealing with difficult cases by this society, and they in their wisdom devise plans to meet difficulties as they find them. Children are cared for from the tenderest age up to seventeen years, generally remaining with a limited oversight until they reach their majority. Children are placed for adoption, also at board in free homes, and for wages for some older boys and girls. Payment of board ceases generally when the child is between twelve and fourteen. Boys and girls are to be found from this society making their way through academies, colleges or professional schools. The constant supervision given to the children by the five salaried visitors, one man and four

women, is the most important feature of the work. Good homes are found for all children without trouble. The society is paid for boarding children during the year \$15,856, but more than half of this, \$8,028, is paid by relatives. By careful study and by heeding indications it has been found possible to arrive at the amounts relatives can pay. The society has undertaken juvenile probation work for the courts and has the oversight of 375 boys ranging from eight to fifteen years.

Home libraries have become an essential part of the work. Twenty books at a time are placed in a home and when read are replaced by others. A child in the home is the librarian. This in a land of public libraries seems almost an anomaly but the secretary, in a recent conversation, showed that it was not only an encouragement to the reading habit, but that it was a great help in raising the standard of the home. The attraction that the library is to the neighborhood is an incentive to live up to the conditions required as to care and cleanliness. It fosters the love of refinement and is a stimulus to all slow acting minds. The society intends to place home garden houses in the same way.

Children's Employment Bill in England.—There has been introduced into Parliament this session a minor bill known as the Children's Employment Bill which appears to have a good chance of becoming a law. In commenting on the bill the *London Graphic* says:

"In some directions it is possible that the bill goes somewhat too far. It has been attacked very bitterly for interfering needlessly between parent and child, and between employer and employee. The people, however, who take this view are apt to pick out the best illustrations of child employment and to ignore the worst. Yet it is to put a stop to the worst cases that the law is required and if the satisfactory cases alone existed no law would be needed. On the whole the provisions of the bill do not appear to err on the side of severity."

In commenting on the bill a prominent member said that "it is the duty of parents to support the children whom they have brought into the world" and that "the labor of young children only encourages reckless parental neglect." "Children should be taught from the earliest moment that they must work, but the work they have to do while children is to build up their mental powers by play and their physical powers by games. They will then be able to grapple with industrial work." A letter to the *London Times* complains because children under fourteen years of age are not allowed to work before six o'clock in the morning. This certainly is not a grave charge against the bill.

Lending Money to the Poor.—A bill has passed the New York legislature and was approved by Mayor Low and Governor Odell incorporating the Personal Property Loan Company with a capital of ten thousand dollars and for which one hundred thousand dollars has been pledged to start the business. It will aim to establish a system of pawn-shops, non-sectarian in character but in touch with church interests, that the worthy poor may be assisted. It is provided that loans shall be made on chattels and that interest at the rate of 6 per cent only shall be charged, or one-half of 1 per cent a

month Pawn-shops now established charge 3 per cent a month for the first six months and 2 per cent a month afterwards for loans under one hundred dollars and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a month for all loans over one hundred dollars. The purpose of the law is a charitable one and the promoters of the scheme seek to be exempted from taxation and to be allowed to put on file chattel mortgages without payment of fees. The working managers alone will receive salaries and the bill provides that the directors shall not declare dividends exceeding 6 per cent in any one year. The first pawn-shop will be near Fifth avenue and Thirty-fourth street and is to be under the supervision of Father Colton and Dr. Burrell. The Provident Loan Association, which was formed to prevent people from being obliged to resort to pawn-shops, lends money on good security for 1 per cent a month. St. Bartholomew's Association, connected with Dr. Grier's Episcopal Church, lends money at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This association finds it necessary to charge a fee for searching records before they advance money on household goods. Thomas M. Mulroy, president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society of the United States, the Rev. Dr. David J. Burrell, of the Marble Collegiate Church, the Rev. Alexander Doyle, of the Paulist Fathers, Edwin F. Cragin, the banker, R. B. Miller and others are backing the enterprise.

Visiting Nurses.—The thirteenth annual report of the Visiting Nurses' Association of Chicago contains information worthy of special mention. Fifteen nurses are now actively at work, 5,621 patients were cared for during the year and 37,986 visits were made. Very active work was done by this association during the recent visit of Dr. Lorenz and a large number of patients were brought to his clientele that would not have reached him in any other way. In the special classes this association has taught the children personal cleanliness and to take pride in improving their surroundings. Twice during the year 250 classes were visited by the nurses and leaflets concerning the care of the body were distributed. Visiting nurses also furnished soap, towels and tooth-brushes for all children who could not afford to buy them. The sympathies of boards of directors are very active in their interest.

The third annual report of the Concord New Hampshire District Nursing Association shows that the work is growing steadily in extent and usefulness. The physicians of the city are in entire sympathy with the work of the association and loud in its praises. An interesting feature is the supplementary work done by eight nurses from the New Hampshire State Hospital Training School. During the past year 359 cases have been traced and 2,834 calls made.

Nearly one thousand ladies in Peoria, Ill., have contributed one dollar each for the salary of a visiting nurse who is to work under the supervision of a bureau of associated charities. The growth of this movement is one of the hopeful signs of the times. The influence for good extended by visiting nurses is incalculable. First, the care of the sick in their homes. Second, the cleanliness that is the necessary accompaniment of this care. Third, the finding of a friend in the greatest hour of need, whose sympathies are broad enough to allow her to listen to all the family troubles. It is strange that more women who are anxious to work for the good of others do not fit

themselves for visiting nurses. It requires adaptability to be able to face all the conditions met with in the work, and the training received in a hospital is only a part of the training needed. An entire absence of the critical spirit, together with the diplomacy which must be used in getting into personal relations with the sick person and the family, make such training a necessity.

The New York *Sun* says there has been growing a marked demand for soap in the slums since the Board of Health employed nurses to visit the public schools in Manhattan. The work of these nurses is confined principally to schools in the congested tenement districts. Seventeen of the thirty-five nurses now on the school roll are working in Manhattan and dividing their time amongst sixty-three schools attended almost entirely by the offspring of foreigners. The Board of Health established this corps of nurses nearly a year ago for the express purpose of combating dirt and disease in the public schools and as an adjunct to the work of the doctors, detailed by the Board of Health. Two nurses visit the schools every day. In cases of serious illness or of contagious disease the child is taken out of school by the nurse and placed in the dispensary. Before the appointment of these nurses the absentee roll of certain schools was very large. There were frequent cases of children sent home for a day or two to be treated for head or skin disease—generally the outcome of uncleanness—who failed to appear again because there was no one in particular to nurse or look after them, and make them come back as soon as possible. Truancy became very frequent. In different schools where the nurse is stationed one room is set apart for an hour in the day as a sort of infirmary. The child who fails to pass the doctor reports the fact to the teacher, who enters it in her book and despatches the youngster to the principal, after which the child goes to the infirmary, where he is treated thoroughly on the spot, and directions are given for home treatment. Very often the home instructions are not followed. Then the nurse visits the home and does some missionary work. She first makes the mother or guardian thoroughly understand that the laws of America require cleanliness and that the laws must be obeyed. Children never object to being treated, not because they have fallen in love with cleanliness, but on account of the novelty of the situation and it takes them out of the classroom for a few minutes. Each nurse visits four schools a day. Children are not allowed to enter the schools of Manhattan in a noticeably dirty or untidy condition and principals are trying different expedients to gain good results. One, for instance, has succeeded by means of the necktie. Her school has become known as the necktie school. She believes that the necktie has no equal as a means of promoting cleanliness and some other virtues. She finds that when a boy of a tenement finds himself dressed up in one he begins to have some self-respect and takes more pains to keep his face clean. During one quarter 47,213 cases were treated by nurses in the public schools of Manhattan and 3,232 visits were made to the homes of the patients during the quarter.

The Hebrew Technical Institute.—The Hebrew Technical Institute, of New York City, educates boys and strives to make them independent and useful to the community. Two hundred boys are at present enjoying the

benefits of this model institution. No public money is used, the support of the school is undertaken by a few philanthropic citizens. Each boy is taught a trade, but he is allowed to choose his occupation in life, and to this end he is taught on lines that will be useful to him, no matter what trade he selects. The education of these boys combines the features of a trade school, a manual training school, a polytechnic institute and a public school. Their books and tools are given to them. Warm lunches are provided, at a charge of one cent per day; the lunch is furnished in a well-ventilated, well-lighted room, where the boys discuss their work and develop their useful instincts in a manly way. The boys have access to a complete and well-chosen library and they are permitted to take books to their homes. The institute has established a savings bank and the boys are encouraged to save. Hot and cold shower baths are furnished free. One of the two buildings occupied by the school was given by Mr. and Mrs. U. Stilnam, in memory of their only son who died young.

III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

Rice Culture in the Philippines.—A recent bulletin of the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture received by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, publishes in an interesting form the results of its investigation of the methods of growing this important staple.

Notwithstanding the fact that rice is one of the principal agricultural products of the archipelago, its consumption considerably exceeds its production.

Statistical information relative to importations during the Spanish régime is meagre and entirely unsatisfactory, though fragmentary details available would seem to indicate that under normal conditions and for a period at least there were considerable exportations of this commodity to China. It is known that the acreage under cultivation has been decreased to one-fourth as an incident of the war, cholera, rinderpest and surra.

During the present year the decrease in production has been so great that in order to avoid famine the Philippine government has imported large quantities of rice and is selling it to the people at cost.

The method of cultivation of rice in the Philippines is in many respects similar to that practiced in China, Japan, India and other Oriental countries. The process of preparing the seed beds, transplanting, puddling the soil, and harvesting the crop all conform to the practice of other communities where labor is cheap. The probable economic prohibition against the introduction of advanced methods and the consequent failure of occupation of a greater portion of a crowded population dependent upon the soil, which will apply to China and other competitors, loses its force of argument in the Philippines with a population of only about 8,000,000 and an area equal in extent to the whole of New England and the State of New York. It is even fast becoming a necessity, as wages increase under American standards, to introduce improved methods in order to increase productive capacity necessary for competition with foreign rice. As an illustration it is stated that while the Filipino laborer now receives only \$20 gold per annum and board and a Louisiana laborer \$200 gold and board, yet the former, impeded in part at least by crude methods, while receiving one-tenth the wage of the latter, produces but one-hundredth of the rice.

There are extensive areas distributed throughout the archipelago whose soils are admirably adapted to the growing of rice. In fact, any fairly fertile soil that has sufficient clay to retain moisture is suited to its needs. Low, level lands are for many reasons preferable.

Although rice is a water plant good drainage is essential to its cultivation. In the Philippines but little attention is paid to irrigation and the rains are depended upon to inundate the land. Were advantage taken of the large number of streams which traverse the country dependence need no longer be placed on the rainy season, and there might be two resultant crops instead of one as at present. The present ditching and leveling methods are primitive

and need improvement, and they should be so arranged as to prevent stagnation of the water and the consequent growing of grasses which thrive under such conditions.

Within ten or twelve days before the grain is ripe the water is drained off for the harvesting. The ripened crop is cut with a sickle or cradle, but under many conditions to greater advantage with the modern reaper and binder.

The machines used in threshing rice are practically the same as those used in the wheat fields of the western United States.

The installation of a 500-acre rice farm with suitable modern equipment, including thresher and traction engine, is estimated at \$5,000, and the gross receipts for a single crop at from \$15,000 to \$20,000 gold.

The Bureau of Agriculture predicts an increase in the production of rice and a consequent saving of money now paid out for importation.

The Reports of Provincial Governors in the Philippines, recently issued by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, give an interesting picture of the local conditions in the archipelago; a few of these are given in condensed form.

William F. Peck, governor of the Province of Benguet, reports in part as follows:

"I am pleased to be able to state, that with the natives, my administration has been marked by a hearty and continuous co-operation on the part of the officials, and manifest contentment on the part of the people. In many respects conditions have arisen within the past year that would try the constancy of the people more than ordinarily occurs in a decade.

"I reported a year ago that the best roads were but trails, and most of the trails were impassable paths for mounted travelers. The several pueblos constituting the province have repaired old roads and constructed new ones, involving much labor, until to-day I can ride over at least two hundred miles of road with perfect safety and comparative ease. This work was done without cost to the government, the project of which at first astounded the native officials, but being done, brought with it a feeling of content among the laborers, which amounts to almost a sentiment of pride, if I may apply the term to so humble a people as the Igorrotes of Benguet. In addition to this labor, there were continually employed on the Benguet wagon road from 250 to 500 Igorrotes from this province, who received from forty cents a day up in insular currency.

"Just at this time the cholera attacked our borders, swept through the road camp and from there spread with astonishing rapidity throughout the province. The Igorrotes having no knowledge of medicine, have always resorted in time of sickness to gathering about the afflicted and holding a feast, sacrificing birds or animals and believing that in the blood thereof there were curative properties. They took no sanitary precautions and these meetings resulted in spreading the pestilence. It was, however, a custom, I might say a religious custom, which they had held sacred for ages and which Spanish rule had never suspended.

"I deemed it most essential for the welfare of the province to stop all such gatherings, to stop the people from traveling from one pueblo to another,

and even from one house to another, and called the presidentes and the cabezas of the different pueblos, and the chiefs and head-men of the province to La Trinidad, explained the cause of the spread of the disease, the sanitary precautions to be taken, the quarantine to be effected and promised in time, when the danger was passed, to allow them to resume the customs of the Igorrotes pertaining to disease and death, which for the time being were suspended.

"The promptness and thoroughness with which the natives complied with this order was a most satisfactory proof of their confidence and regard for the American government. Then ensued a long and tedious fight against the cholera, and when the smallpox broke out, leaving forty-three dead in one barrio, it seemed as though the fates were opposing the province and pestilence was victor.

"However, in traveling about the province I find new houses, new rice fields, new coffee plantations, larger gardens and clean yards, all of which indicate that many consider themselves safe in property and life and content to begin again accumulating property to repay the losses of the last seven years. Again it is a gratifying novelty to the Igorrote that the white man, especially if it be an official, pays for what he gets, be it produce, curios or labor.

"All the pueblos of the province are in good financial condition and five are building new tribunals.

"As justice of the peace, I have had occasion to try only thirty-two cases and have been appealed to as arbitrator only eight times by Igorrotes, who were not satisfied with the findings of their native tribunals. Of course this does not represent the entire criminal calendar of the province, for each pueblo has its council which sits as a court over petty difficulties arising between individuals. From these councils the Igorrotes seldom appeal, accepting the decision of their own head-men as first and final."

A. U. Betts, governor of the Province of Albay, writes:

"The year opened with everything in a very peaceful and prosperous condition. There have been two regular sessions of the Court of First Instance held at the capital during the past year and it is gratifying to note the great confidence these people display in the administration of justice. The road between Legaspi and Ligao, which passes through the centre of the great hemp country, was practically completed during the early part of the year. The enormous traffic, however, passing over this highway made it necessary, in order to maintain it in passable condition, to eliminate the antiquated bull-cart. The provincial board, therefore, prohibited their passing over the road and made it obligatory to use carts with modern wheels movable on the axle and with a four-inch or greater tread.

"These restrictions crippled the transportation facilities for a short time, but suitable wheels were quickly imported, and the inconvenience at first experienced was readily compensated for, by not only the preservation of the highways, but also by the amount of cargo the carts were able to carry. To illustrate:

"It formerly required three days for a cart, drawn by three bulls, to make

a trip over the full length of the road, while with modern carts on the new highway, the trip can now be made in one day, using only two bulls and carrying 50 per cent more cargo.

"When these facts became evident, no further argument was necessary to induce the cart owners to purchase modern equipage. It has been estimated that the saving in the cost of transportation over this highway, in one year only, as contrasted with former conditions, amounts to \$720,000, local currency. This saving to the people of the province has been effected in one year through an expenditure, for the maintenance of this highway, of about \$67,889, local currency. There have been imported into the province during the past year about 5,000 cart wheels of modern construction.

"The question of transportation still remains one of the most important problems to deal with in the province. The greater portion of this year the average price for a bull-cart per day has been \$40, local currency, while the average cost of a carromata has been \$25. The great demand for transportation is for moving the hemp from the interior down to the seaports and taking rice and merchandise from the ports to the interior. There were shipped from the port of Legaspi this year about 344,270 piculs of hemp and 455,770 piculs of rice entered the same port.

"This great demand for transportation and the excessively high price charged has induced outside capital to bring into the province modern traction engines. These have an eighteen-inch tread while the cars used in their trams have an eight-inch tread, causing therefore but little damage to the highways. One of these engines has been known to transport at one trip 260 piculs of hemp, or an amount that would require about forty bull-carts to transport. The pressing demand for transportation has resulted in the establishment of stage lines, and the introduction of bicycles and automobiles, which are now running on the public highways. Four hundred of the former have been imported into the province during the year.

"The exportation of hemp from this province during the year has been in the neighborhood of 500,000 piculs for which the people were paid about \$12,500,000, local currency. The production of ylang-ylang for the year just closed was valued at about \$55,000, copra at \$300,000 and sinamay at \$3,250,000.

"The receipts of the provincial treasurer from all sources for the year amounted to \$359,095.48, local currency. Of this sum \$131,959.82 was returned to the municipalities, that being their portion of the general tax, and after deducting all sums for outstanding obligations and unfulfilled contracts there is a balance of \$45,755.71, local currency, in the treasury.

"It is gratifying to note the great progress that has been made in the educational department of the province during the past year. Numerous school buildings have been erected in all parts of the province, and some municipalities are deserving of special mention for the excellent buildings constructed. There are in the province one high school, 38 schools directed by American teachers in which English is taught, 6 parochial schools and about 700 private schools in which instruction is given in Spanish and Bicol.

"The best of feeling exists between the natives and the American resi-

dents of the province, and it is gratifying to note the readiness with which the people adopt new ideas and modern customs.

"This province opens a wonderful field for the introduction of American supplies and implements, and it is sincerely hoped that American manufacturers and merchants will take advantage of these new markets."

Sr. G. Gonzaga, governor of the Province of Cagayan, reports:

"The Province of Cagayan, situated in the extreme northern part of the Islands of Luzon, has continued in a peaceful and tranquil condition since the establishment thereon of civil government, which was accomplished without the least disturbance or occasion of disorder in September, 1901. . . . The most complete peace has reigned, clear and evident proof of the sincere and loyal adherence to the sovereignty of North America and of satisfaction with the present governmental system.

"Under this peace, the people of this province would most surely have enjoyed such prosperity as peace affords, had not unhappy events combined to prevent it, such as the mortality of carabaos; and other diseases of cattle and horses. This calamity was followed by unexpected overflows of the river which inundated lands planted in corn and tobacco, then came the smallpox epidemic, and in its turn the plague of locusts, and to cap it all, the cholera, which, while it has not wrought great havoc, has greatly unsettled the minds of the people.

"The dire calamities mentioned, together with the depression in tobacco, which is the principal product of this soil, place the inhabitants of the tobacco-raising pueblos of the province in a most deplorable condition.

"Through visits to all the municipalities the undersigned has become convinced of the complete tranquillity which exists, notwithstanding that there has not completely disappeared the hateful despotism which the higher classes observe toward the lower classes in nearly all the pueblos, due to the ignorance of the latter.

"To destroy this power, the education of the lower classes becomes necessary. . . . All the pueblos of the province should be given American teachers and there should be established institutions of higher learning, of agriculture, arts and trades in the provincial capital for the education of the youth of Cagayan.

"Agriculture has declined for the past two years. Numerous circumstances have combined to bring about this critical condition. The dearth of work animals, the plague of locusts and the continuous epidemic diseases which have appeared and terrorized the people to such an extent as to cause them to abandon their fields, and finally the lack of water at the plowing season.

"The depression in the tobacco market is due not only to the low price of the same in Manila, for which there is no explanation except that it is done by the intrigues of the great manufacturers of cigarettes in Manila, but it is also due to the excessive tariff duties upon the importation of this article which prevents American merchants from purchasing the same. In order to combat this monopoly, so highly injurious to the inhabitants of this

province, we suggest the remedy of lowering the tariff of import duty upon tobacco to 25 per cent instead of 75 per cent, as it is at present.

"The density of population in the two Ilocos provinces makes their territory insufficient for many who desire to acquire land and free themselves from the cruelty and unrestrained avarice of land owners. In the valley of the Cagayan, with its sparse population, there is everywhere to be found virgin soil which lacks labor only to cultivate it. In order to secure this needed change of population a wagon road should be built from Bangui, the nearest pueblo in Ilocos Norte, to Claveria, the first pueblo in the Province of Cagayan."

James Ross, governor of the province of Ambos Camarines, reports the following:

"In my last annual report I stated: 'Absolute peace prevails in all sections.' I am very glad to be able now to repeat that statement and to report the peaceful conditions that have existed ever since the end of the insurrection, unchanged. The people of this province evidently understand that the maintenance of peace and order is a condition precedent to progress and prosperity, and I desire to say that to the people of the province themselves belongs the credit for the very satisfactory conditions that exist within our borders. The work of the constabulary has consisted almost entirely in guarding the borders and patrolling the mountain regions, where the wild tribes were formerly considered more or less dangerous by the Christian inhabitants of neighboring barrios. Commercial houses are in the habit of sending large sums of money out to distant points by unarmed messengers, American prospectors and explorers have penetrated the most remote mountain regions in parties of two and three, or entirely alone, and none of these have been molested in the slightest degree.

"In the recently organized towns municipal affairs are being administered in a satisfactory manner, very few complaints against officials having been received during the year. The only charge sustained was one against Inocentes Aspe, president of Magarao, for having suppressed cholera reports from his town, and he was dismissed from office.

"The province suffered during the year from an epidemic of Asiatic cholera, there having been 1,371 cases and 974 deaths. Upon the appearance of the disease energetic measures were taken to prevent its spread. Dr. Shannon Richmond, U. S. V., was detailed to assist the provincial authorities, and to his able and energetic efforts is due the success with which the epidemic was combated. Aside from the cholera, general health conditions were better during the year than at any time during my three years' experience in the province.

"The migration of laborers from the impoverished rice land country to the rich hemp districts, mentioned in my last report, has continued during part of the year, and in this manner the demand for labor in the hemp industry has been in part supplied, resulting in a material increase in hemp production. During the year the province exported 251,961 piculs of hemp. The other products exported are rattan, ylang-ylang and copra. The growth of the hemp industry last year was not solely along the lines of production from existing fields, but there was quite a boom in opening up new lands in localities where

no effort had formerly been made to cultivate abaca. From all parts of the province we received information that almost every man fortunate enough to possess a tract of land large enough and suitable for the purpose was planting hemp. It will require from two to three years for these new fields to mature, but when that time comes Ambos Camarines may be looked to as a strong competitor for the first place as a hemp-producing province.

"The agricultural possibilities of this province are practically unlimited. It has a fertile soil that will grow almost anything, and with a population of the most peaceable and friendly people in the archipelago offers a most inviting field for the investment of American capital in agricultural enterprises, provided, of course, that some means can be found for supplying the necessary labor.

"The province contains large tracts of fine grazing lands, and in former times stock-raising was one of the principal industries. The past year has been productive of most excellent results in school work. There are now in the province, under the direct control of American teachers, twenty-eight schools with a teaching staff of twenty-seven American and thirty-five native teachers. The enrollment for the entire province is three thousand and seventy-nine, with an average daily attendance of two thousand one hundred and forty-two.

"There are about one hundred and thirty-five miles of road in the province, of which fifteen are fairly good and the remaining one hundred and twenty, a part of which has been lately repaired, still need further repairs at an estimated cost of about four hundred thousand dollars, local currency. Twenty-five more bridges are needed, of which at least twenty are an urgent necessity.

"The affairs of all departments are in good condition and complete harmony exists throughout the administration. The honesty, fidelity and efficiency of the Filipino officials, which I took occasion to comment upon last year, I desire to mention again at this time."

Philippine Weather Bureau.—Although the meteorological service of the Philippine Islands is probably the oldest established in the extreme East, no full and comprehensive report of its operations has been available for public reference until that of its director, Rev. Fr. José Algué, S. J., for 1901-2 was published in two parts, including a report of the secretary of the Weather Bureau on the establishment of the service, its development under the Spanish government and its reorganization under the present régime, and covering a period from 1865 to 1902. This report, in attractive form, has just been received by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and bears evidence of careful preparation and compilation.

To the Jesuit order belongs the credit of having first recognized the importance of meteorological observations to the commercial and agricultural interests of the islands and their neighbors. Under the enthusiastic direction of Fr. Federico Fauna, the justly famed Manila Observatory was installed in 1865 with the necessary instruments for its important work. The story of the increase of the facilities of the observatory and of its valuable instruments, added from time to time, is one to be read with interest, and

the results obtained stand as a monument to the tireless energy of the savants who have directed the institution.

The usefulness of its workings began to be felt and appreciated in 1879 when the observatory began a series of wonderfully correct prognostications on the probable trajectory of typhoons. These, then novel, predictions attracted considerable attention to the observatory and from that time it has enjoyed an enviable reputation in the scientific world. The warnings sent out have been of benefit not only to the people of the Philippines but have a recognized value to the inhabitants of adjacent countries similarly subject to the ravages of these terrific storm conditions. Their importance to shipping interests cannot be overestimated.

Upon the American occupation most cordial relations were at once established with those in charge of the observatory, and while, through lack of prompt communication with the secondary stations due to internal disturbances, the data for forecasts was not so complete, yet the bureau rendered efficient service and continued to display weather signals, which commendable and public spirited attitude met with prompt recognition from Admiral Dewey, then commanding the American naval forces in Asiatic waters.

The Philippine Commission, after conference with the authorities of the Weather Bureau at Washington and under date of May 22, 1901, published an act organizing the Philippine Weather Bureau. By this act the bureau is required to print and distribute daily reports of weather conditions together with its forecasts, and under it those formerly in charge have been continued in its direction, and generous appropriations have enabled them to increase their usefulness through the establishment and reorganization of stations and the purchase of necessary instruments therefor.

Philippine Tobacco.—Professor Clarence W. Dorsey, soil physicist, connected with the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture, has prepared a bulletin on the cultivation of tobacco, which has recently been received by the Insular Bureau, and contains many items of interest relative to tobacco growing in the Philippines, and also gives instructions to growers as to the best methods of cultivating, harvesting and curing the crop.

Philippine tobacco has long been held in high esteem in the Orient, and Manila cigars maintain the same rank in the eastern countries that Havana cigars occupy in Europe and America. To-day tobacco stands third among the exports from the Philippines.

Tobacco was introduced into the Philippines soon after the Spaniards took possession, seed having been brought from Mexico by missionaries. Little effort was made by the government to restrict or encourage the cultivation of tobacco until 1781 when it became a state monopoly. While the monopoly was in force, each family in the tobacco districts of Luzon was compelled to grow 4,000 plants and deliver the entire crop to the agents of the government. None of the crop was reserved for the use of the planter and a fine was imposed when the crop was short.

After harvest the leaves were selected and bought by government agents, and bundles of inferior leaves were rejected and burned. Native houses were

searched for concealed tobacco and fines and penalties imposed on those who failed to comply with the law.

The profits from the monopoly, finally abolished December 31, 1882, annually amounted to several million pesos.

Since that time the cultivation and manufacture of the crop has been in the hands of private individuals and companies. At the present time the greater part of the tobacco grown in the islands comes from Luzon. The products of Isabela and Cagayan provinces are the most highly esteemed, while considerable quantities are produced in Union and the Ilocos provinces, on the west coast of northern Luzon. Nueva Ecija formerly raised a fair grade of tobacco, but the cultivation has fallen off in late years. Tobacco is grown in small quantities in the Visayan and southern islands.

Philippine tobacco is nearly all utilized in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes, and finds a ready sale in Spain (which consumes more than one-half of the total production), England, Hong Kong (where it is shipped to Asiatic ports), and British East India. During the year 1900 these countries bought more than seven-tenths of the entire crop. The agreeable aroma and flavor of the better grades of tobacco grown in the islands have won for it a high place among the fine cigar tobaccos of the world, and, for a long time, it ranked next to the celebrated Cuban tobacco. When we consider the desirable qualities of Philippine tobacco, with the imperfect cultivation, curing, and fermentation it receives, and the improvements and advances that have been made in other tobacco countries, it is clear that every care and attention should be given the crop to enable it to regain its former position, if not to make it superior to the finest tobacco now grown in the world.

The markets of the United States offer every inducement for the improvement and spread of the Philippine tobacco industry. This becomes all the more evident when we consider the vast sums of money annually expended by the United States for foreign tobacco. During the year ended June 30, 1900, the United States paid for Cuban tobacco \$7,615,991, and \$4,569,271 for Sumatra tobacco. During this same year the Philippines exported to the United States only a few hundreds of dollars worth of tobacco, or less than one-hundredth of one per cent of the tobacco importations of that country.

In the manufacture of high-grade cigars, certain essentials are necessary. The tobacco must burn smoothly and freely, with a pleasant taste, not rank and strong, nor too mild. When the taste is pleasant, not sharp and bitter, the aroma will invariably be good. The wrapper of the cigar, as distinguished from the filler, must be light in color, rich in grain, thin in texture, small in vein and stem, very elastic, and of good burning quality. It should stretch and cover well, have little aroma and appear well on the cigar. After such a suitable wrapper leaf is grown, it must be properly cured, assorted and classified. The manufacturer can never afford to pay a high price for a bale of tobacco, unless he can calculate just how many suitable leaves it will contain. This is one reason why Sumatra tobacco commands such a high value, for so carefully is the grading and assorting done that the manufacturer knows how many cigars each package of tobacco will wrap, and that the color will be uniform.

For cigar filler the leaves should be somewhat shorter, of medium body, have a rich brown color and burn smoothly and freely. The quality of the filler determines the character of the cigar; hence the filler must possess the desirable aroma that distinguishes a good cigar.

Philippine tobacco has some of the above properties and has earned its reputation, on account of its agreeable aroma, fine veins and notable elasticity. This applies only to the better quality of tobacco grown on the alluvial lands of the Cagayan River, in northern Luzon. The tobacco grown in the Visayan Islands is coarser, uneven in color, and of greater strength. From the provinces along the west coast of northern Luzon the tobacco is of heavy body, and that grown near the sea has but little combustibility. Its ragged, broken character also lowers its market value.

Professor Dorsey believes that the islands can and should produce cigar-filler tobacco that is fully equal to the finest product of the Vuelta Abajo district of Cuba, and a cigar wrapper equal to Sumatra tobacco. With careful attention to soil and climatic conditions, it is believed districts can be found that will raise tobacco similar in flavor and aroma to that grown in the best districts of Turkey.

Filipino Labor—The Bureau of Insular Affairs has given to the press a copy of a letter written by Mr. H. Krusi, vice-president of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Company, which has the contract for the harbor improvements at Manila, and addressed to Governor Taft, in reply to his request for a report on Filipino labor. The letter is as follows:

"First. We believe that Filipino labor can successfully be used. We are employing about one thousand Filipinos, which is a practical demonstration that this statement is not a theory.

"Second. To employ successfully Filipino labor is, to the American employer of labor, a new business which has to be learned. If he cannot learn it, he cannot do business in the Philippine Islands.

"Third. In general the Filipinos have to be taught to work. This requires a considerable proportion of intelligence, high-grade American foremen and mechanics.

"Fourth. The way to keep the Filipino laborer permanently in one's employ is to arrange his surroundings so that he is better off and more contented there than anywhere else. This we have attained by means of providing homes for the Filipinos and their families; also amusements, including Sunday fiestas and schools where their children may be educated.

"Fifth. We are opposed to the introduction of the Chinese. The only argument that we can see in its favor is that it may somewhat expedite the development of the resources of the islands. This temporary advantage is, we believe, overbalanced and overwhelmed by the ultimate injury to both the Americans and natives in the islands.

"Sixth. We believe that the greatest need of the islands is the abolition of the Dingley tariff as far as it applies to the Philippines. We want the American market, not the Chinese laborer."

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American Academy of Political and Social Science

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO MEMBERS

On Sunday evening, November first, the Avil Printing Company's building was destroyed by fire. The November ANNALS, which was nearly ready for mailing, was thereby destroyed. This will account for the delay in the mailing of the November number, as it has been necessary to make arrangements with another printer.

The burning of the storage rooms connected with the printing company also destroyed the larger portion of the back numbers of THE ANNALS. The cost of reprinting these numbers would be so great that the officers of the Academy have decided to make an appeal to our members for such of the back numbers as they may not require. The ready response of our members to this request will mean a very great service to the Academy. All such volumes may be forwarded at the expense of the Academy, addressed to the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 34th and Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia.

The officers of the Academy take this opportunity to extend to the members sincere thanks for their co-operation in this matter.

JAMES T. YOUNG, Secretary.

N. B.—The Academy is particularly anxious to secure the following numbers: Meitzen's Statistics, November, 1891; May, 1895; July, 1898; September, 1898; January, 1900; May, 1902.

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FIRE INSURANCE RATES AND METHODS

In the spring of 1902, the price of fire insurance throughout this country suddenly rose 25 per cent. During the ensuing hub-bub the fire insurance companies furnished ingenious explanations, and waited for the storm to blow over. For the remaining months of 1902, alone, this increased charge for insurance produced about sixteen million dollars more income to the companies.

This sudden rise in the price of fire insurance was due to the application by the companies of the old principle of charging "all that the traffic will bear." Evidences of commercial prosperity, displayed on all sides, could not but excite the cupidity of corporations manifestly in business for the benefit of their exchequer. A conclave of prime-movers in the insurance world was held, at which the formula was adopted that "the insurance companies, for years, having lost much money, it is imperatively necessary to raise rates 25 per cent and said raise goes into effect immediately." No esoteric meaning attached to the words "we are losing money." They were explained as meaning that the profits realized from the employment of capital in the fire insurance business were inadequate to keep that capital from flowing to other more remunerative industries. What are the facts of the case?

From the tables presented at the annual meeting of the National Board of Fire Underwriters on May 14, 1903, it is found that the paid dividends of the American joint-stock fire insurance companies combined have averaged from 1860 to 1902, inclusive, not less than 11.14 per cent. Since 1892, the yearly averages have been as follows:

| Year. | Per ct. | Year. | Per ct. |
|------------|---------|------------|---------|
| 1892 | 10.51 | 1898 | 11.64 |
| 1893 | 10.43 | 1899 | 11.65 |
| 1894 | 10.60 | 1900 | 11.18 |
| 1895 | 11.40 | 1901 | 11.63 |
| 1896 | 11.24 | 1902 | 11.96 |
| 1897 | 11.33 | | |

So that the average dividends of the last eight years have been higher than the average of the last forty-two years, and the dividends declared in 1902 were the largest since 1860.

Turning to the market price of fire insurance companies' stocks, the investigator is confronted with symptoms of decided prosperity. The Insurance Year Book for 1903 (published by the Spectator Company, New York), on pages 180 to 187, quotes the "latest sale of stock (per cent)" of 139 American fire insurance companies. These selling prices fall into the following subdivisions:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| \$100 Stock selling below 100 | 1 |
| Stock selling at 101-150 | 65 |
| Stock selling at 151-200 | 25 |
| Stock selling at 201-300 | 23 |
| Stock selling at 301-400 | 13 |
| Stock selling at 401-1400 | 12 |

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Can anything be discovered in these prices warranting disappointment or pessimism?

It should be remembered that the income of the fire insurance companies is derived mainly from two sources: underwriting and investment of funds. So that dividends on capital invested are declared out of the profits accruing either primarily from the underwriting, or secondarily from the investment of funds. An underwriting loss arises when the indemnity paid out for loss by fire and the expenses of management together exceed the income derived from premiums for the indemnity furnished.

The alleged total underwriting "loss" of all American companies in 1901 is an elusive quantity; but the insurance companies seem to have agreed to give it as "considerably over six million dollars." For argument's sake we might assume that this statement is truthful. It would then follow that the dividends declared by these companies in 1901 arose from profits derived from the secondary sources of income, after making good the alleged underwriting loss of \$6,000,000. In other words, if the primary source of income showed a debit of \$6,000,000, so that a dividend of 11.63 per cent was declared out of profits derived from the secondary sources of income, it is obvious that but for this debit of \$6,000,000 total dividends of 22.54 per cent could have been paid on the capital of \$55,000,000. Either one of two things follows: when telling the public "we are losing money," the fire insurance companies really meant "we are losing money on one of our sources

of income though from our secondary sources of income we are making very much money," or else they were distributing unearned dividends. That they were guilty of this illegal act is not probable. So far, then, it seems that there was but little reason, if any, for increasing the fire insurance burdens of this country 25 per cent.

The business of fire insurance in this country is not only highly profitable, but is profitable in spite of an extravagance and a waste of money which in any other industry could not be tolerated. The combined American and foreign joint-stock fire insurance companies doing business in the United States entered into contracts for contingent indemnity, or, to use the technical phrase, wrote the following aggregate amount of risks:

| | |
|---------------|------------------|
| In 1902 | \$21,320,333.036 |
| In 1900 | 19,130,399.000 |

An increase of \$2,189,934.036, or 11½%

They paid out for "commissions and brokerage":

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| In 1902 | \$37,628,785 |
| In 1900 | 29,705,775 |

An increase of \$7,923,010, or 26 2-3%

In other words, in order to increase sales of indemnity by 11½ per cent, the companies actually increased the commissions paid to their agents by 26 2-3 per cent.

Any competitive industry which treated its traveling representatives, or sales agents, similarly, would be guilty of foolishness or excessive generosity, and in either case, would be inviting bankruptcy. The peculiar extravagance of this method of doing business is more apparent when consideration is given to the following figures. The consideration or price, or, technically speaking, the premiums charged for writing the foregoing risks, was:

| | |
|---------------|---------------|
| In 1902 | \$185,494,632 |
| In 1900 | 146,263,565 |

An increase of \$39,231,067

So that, out of an increased income of about thirty-nine millions, eight millions went to brokers. In other words, over 20 per cent of the increase of money arbitrarily taken from the public went

immediately into the pockets of insurance brokers. This, it should be remembered, happened at the very time when the public all over the country was being told that "the companies were losing so much money that there was nothing left to do but to raise the price of insurance 25 per cent"!

This immense drain for commissions, made upon the whole business community, is not only excessive and unreasonable, but it is a condition of affairs which has been steadily growing worse for the last forty years. In fact, for every policy or contract promising indemnity to the amount of \$100, there was paid as "commissions and brokerage" the following sums:

| | |
|---|------------|
| In the years 1860-70, an average of | 10.5 cents |
| In the years 1871-80, an average of | 13.9 cents |
| In the years 1881-90, an average of | 15.6 cents |
| In the years 1891-1900, an average of | 15.8 cents |
| In the year 1901, an average of | 16.6 cents |
| In the year 1902, an average of | 17.7 cents |

It will be seen that the payment to the insurance broker has steadily and persistently grown, until it is to-day greater than at any time since 1860, and this in spite of the fact that the public is much more desirous of insurance and more than ever accustomed to assume the duties which should really be fulfilled by the broker.

So far, then, it is found that dividends paid on the capital invested in the fire insurance business, and the commissions paid to agents, are higher to-day than at any time during the last forty-two years. Now, it will be admitted that the prime function of fire insurance is to indemnify the public against loss by fire. We have seen that in 1902 all the United States¹ companies combined made the following payments:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| For "commissions and brokerage" | \$26,548,587 |
| For "dividends" | 6,554,570 |
| Total | \$33,103,157 |

These thirty-three millions, of course, came out of the pockets of the insured. Besides the \$33,000,000 above accounted for, there were other expenditures incurred in the conduct of fire insurance in this country the disbursements for which were drawn also directly

¹ As the dividends paid by foreign companies transacting business in the United States are in a great measure dependent on the results of European underwriting, they cannot serve as a criterion of conditions in this country, and therefore are not considered.

from the pockets of the public. Over fourteen million five hundred thousand dollars were paid out for sundry expenses by these same companies in 1902. So that, in that year, these American companies combined actually retained \$47,644,000 for themselves, their agents, and their expenses, and, as indemnity to the public, they paid—how much?—less than sixty-six million dollars! Yet every penny of this money was furnished by the insuring public!

What would be thought of the methods of a savings bank which could say to the public: "We shall allow you to deposit your savings in our bank and you will be allowed to draw on your account at sixty days' sight,² on condition that for every \$114 which you deposit, we shall be allowed to retain \$48 for ourselves, this sum to be retained by us not for a certain short time but for all time"? That, in a crude way, illustrates what the American fire insurance companies said to the public of the United States in 1902. They even went further, as will be shown.

From 1860 to 1902, inclusive, the average yearly premium on a policy of \$10,000, charged by all the joint-stock fire insurance companies doing business in the United States, has been as follows:

| Years. | |
|-----------------|---------|
| 1860-70 | \$80.32 |
| 1871-80 | 94.32 |
| 1881-90 | 98.80 |
| 1891-95 | 106.40 |
| 1896-1900 | 101.48 |
| 1901 | 106.05 |
| 1902 | 115.18 |

It will be seen that the price charged for furnishing insurance to-day is much higher than at any time in the last forty-two years. Leaving this phase of the matter out of the question for the time being, one finds further that during the same periods these contracts of insurance involved the fire insurance companies in the following losses by fire for every \$10,000 of risk assumed by them:

| Years. | |
|---------------|---------|
| 1860-70 | \$46.55 |
| 1871-80 | 50.60 |
| 1881-90 | 48.70 |
| 1891-95 | 51.67 |

² According to insurance policies, losses are payable at any time within sixty days after ascertainment thereof, though, in justice to the companies, it is only fair to say that in general they do not avail themselves of the full delay accorded to them.

| Years. | |
|-----------------|---------|
| 1896-1900 | \$42.92 |
| 1901 | 45.15 |
| 1902 | 44.17 |

It will be noted that fire insurance losses are not growing worse.

The difference between the amount deposited by the public with the insurance companies and the amount refunded by these companies constitutes the gross residue retained by the companies for exercising the privilege of being trustees of, and depositaries for, the public's funds. The public's share of its own premiums compares with the companies' share thereof as follows :

| Years. | Returned to Public. | Gross Residue of Charge to Public. |
|-----------------|------------------------|--|
| 1860-70 | \$46.55 | \$33.77 |
| 1871-80 | 50.60 | 43.72 |
| 1881-90 | 48.70 | 50.10 |
| 1891-95 | 51.67 | 54.73 |
| 1896-1900 | 42.92 | 58.56 |
| 1901 | 45.15 | 60.90 |
| 1902 | 44.17 | 71.01 |

The premiums charged to the public have been such as to permit a continually growing sum to be at the disposal of the companies, for some purpose or other, after reimbursing the public for losses suffered. However, that is a detail; the main fact which we wish to keep in mind is this: last year (1902) the average charge for a policy of insurance for \$10,000 was \$115.18 and under this same policy there was paid out an average indemnity of \$44.17. The public made a deposit of \$115.18 and of this sum drew out \$44.17. The trustees kept the change.

Lest it may appear incredible that such a condition of affairs really existed, the following corroborative figures are reproduced from the latest report^a (1903) of the Insurance Commissioner of Connecticut. It should be remembered that the figures given are compiled by the Insurance Commissioner of Connecticut, from the sworn statements of the companies themselves. They cover the operations of all the representative American stock fire insurance companies and, for reasons already given, do not cover the operations of European companies transacting business in this country.

^a Any one can obtain this report for the mere request. The figures will be found on pages 689 to 698. Reports published by almost any other state will furnish the same information, though in somewhat less convenient form.

INCOME during the year ending December 31, 1902 :

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Fire premiums, net | \$128,424,000 |
| Marine " " | 4,887,000 |
| Total | <hr/> \$133,311,000 |
| Interest on bond and mortgage | 1,356,000 |
| Other interest and dividends | 6,351,000 |
| Rents | 850,000 |
| All other sources | 4,500,000 |
| Total income | <hr/> \$146,368,000 |

OUTGO during the year ending December 31, 1902 :

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Total losses | \$64,383,000 |
| Dividends | 6,021,000 |
| Commissions and brokerage | 25,494,000 |
| Salaries and fees | 7,770,000 |
| Taxes | 3,334,000 |
| All other disbursements..... | 9,519,000 |
| Total outgo | <hr/> \$116,521,000 |

The foregoing figures represent the joint operations of practically all the American fire insurance companies. They show that after paying all the losses of the year, after paying out half as much as the losses merely for dividends and commissions, after paying out all the disbursements, the total income exceeded the total outgo by about thirty million dollars. Now, the aggregate paid-up capital of the companies in question was, in round figures, \$47,000,000, so that this excess of total income over total outgo would suffice to pay further dividends of about 63 per cent on the paid-up capital.

It will be said that much of this \$30,000,000 is not necessarily an item of profit, but that it represents, in fact, the sum of premiums which have not been fully earned. Let us see how accurate this is. The law requires fire insurance companies to have on hand an "unearned premium fund," amounting to one-half of what is paid in to them, so that a policyholder canceling a policy may be reimbursed the ratable portion of the premium paid. This liability is constantly being incurred, and constantly being removed. For the dollars which at this moment are being impounded, there are the dollars being released, which were put in escrow, as it were, a year ago. Thus, the "liability reserve" can only be considered to affect our statement in regard to that portion of the above \$30,000,000

which corresponds to an increase of business. If, in this month, a company receive as premiums \$1,100 for every \$1,000 which it received in the corresponding month of last year, it is evident that under the provisions of the law, for every \$1,100 which it impounds to-day it can release but \$1,000 of fully earned premiums. Now, the natural increase of business does not materially affect this \$30,000,000. Let it be assumed that in one way or the other, even one-half of this sum disappeared in the next twelve months, there would still remain a sum equal to 32 per cent on the capital, available for dividend purposes!

We may be told, also, that most of this \$30,000,000 would be placed in a surplus fund, to be used for the benefit of the public in case of a sweeping fire bringing unusual loss. The companies have been providing for this possible calamity for years, by means of greatly inflated surplus funds created by the public, and earning great interest and dividends. But the days of conflagrations, such as swept Chicago thirty years ago, have probably gone and a contingency so remote should not be made the excuse for a perpetual heavy tax of insurance. One of the latest calamities, that which visited Jacksonville, Fla., caused an insurance loss of only \$5,932,500. As compared with the surplus above mentioned, surely an insignificant sum:

That the companies themselves do not really worry about the possibilities of sweeping conflagrations repeating the events of thirty years ago, may be gathered from the fact that they do not hesitate to risk their all on the chance of such calamities not being repeated, as witness the congested district of Chicago, where alone \$170,000,000 is at stake. Proportionately large sums are risked similarly, in the conflagration districts of Philadelphia, Boston and other large towns. It will be shown below that even in regard to this conflagration fund the public is being sorely abused.

The full extent of the exploitation to which the public submits is understood only after tracing the origin of the secondary sources of income enjoyed by the fire insurance companies. If we revert to the income and outgo account for the year 1902, we find that over thirteen million dollars out of a total income of \$146,000,000 was due to "interests, dividends, rents and other sources." This \$13,000,000 arose from what is generally called the "investment income" in contradistinction to the remainder, the "underwriting income."

The paid-up capital of the companies furnishing this income account amounted to about \$47,000,000. This sum was in no wise sunk as it would be if invested in any industry; none of it went into machines, raw material, mines, rolling stock, or right of way. It was, all the time, visible, tangible, dormant in the banks. It was practically a token of good faith, nothing more. By reason of this deposit in the banks, by virtue of this evidence of good faith, the owners of this \$47,000,000, by law were permitted to offer insurance against fire and to demand for this insurance such consideration as they pleased and, among themselves, agreed to charge. The public, having accepted these offers of insurance, drew from its pockets considerations, called "premiums," to the amount of over one hundred and twenty-eight million dollars. Of this \$128,000,000, there was refunded as indemnity for losses, \$64,000,000. The remainder of these premiums, \$64,000,000, and the original \$47,000,000 which, of course, was intact, belong to the fire insurance companies, by law. They could close their business to-morrow and the public could not say nay.

Instead, the companies left their capital of \$47,000,000 in the banks, and out of that part of the premiums not touched by fire they paid dividends and commissions and salaries and taxes, and, as has been seen, had a great fund left over. This fund, amounting to many millions, they placed in the banks, alongside of the untouched capital of \$47,000,000, and they called it a surplus fund, put there to pay losses in case the public had another Jacksonville fire.

Now, since the public furnished all the premiums out of which all the losses and all the dividends and all the salaries and all the other items were paid, the surplus, or conflagration fund, was in reality the excess charge demanded of the public over and above what was sufficient compensation for trouble and risk taken; though, if any Jacksonville fire should recur, the indemnity for the fire would be paid out of the accumulated surplus saved out of the public's money, and next year, the public would be further assessed, the "recent conflagration" serving as excuse!

All of this money, all of this excess charge over and above the amount necessary to recompense the custodians and administrators of the public's contributions, should be held in trust as the property of the insuring public. By all moral, ethical, and financial rights, the conflagration fund belongs to the insurers. But it never will be

theirs—unless the law is changed. Instead, this fund will grow, and, growing too big, some fine day it will melt away as an “extra dividend” of 40 or 60 per cent, or else it will amalgamate with the dormant capital of \$47,000,000 so that the shareowners will own two shares of stock where now they own but one.

But, it will be said, supposing that the companies owning this capital of \$47,000,000 had not been able to pay losses and expenses and dividends out of the contributions of the public, would they not have drawn upon this \$47,000,000, their capital? Assume that they had: the inevitable result would be that next year, the public would be forced, willy nilly, to pay enough to make good the impairment of the \$47,000,000, and besides that, would be severely taxed for not having in the previous year contributed enough premiums to pay for all its losses and all the commissions, and all the dividends and the sundry items and the conflagration fund.

It is a distinctive feature of these insurance companies that they act as one man, throughout the country, in every town and village. There is no competition among them but, on the contrary, a most exclusive and brotherly *entente cordiale*. Hence, when in the recesses of their council chambers they reach a conclusion, be it right or wrong, that they have “lost money,” with hearts that beat as one they set out to seek that which they have lost; and, so far, their quests have been successful.

It is seen that by reason of practically depositing a bond of \$47,000,000, fire insurance companies were entrusted with premiums of \$128,000,000. Whilst they were the custodians of these premiums, their capital was earning interest, even if only a beggarly 3 per cent. In the same way, the trust fund, the \$128,000,000 was earning interest—which interest was retained by the trustees; of course, not interest on \$128,000,000 for 365 days, for this trust fund came in gradually, and little by little some of it disappeared for fire and expenses. But a great deal was there all the year. If it be assumed that in view of what was held for the year the whole amount earned an average of 3 per cent, then, \$3,840,000 would have been earned as interest or dividends. In the same way, at the end of the year, when the conflagration fund became swollen by the excess of the public's contributions, another source of “interest and dividends” was created.

On the supposition that the above modest sum of \$3,840,000 could have been earned, it would of itself have sufficed to pay a

dividend of 8 1-6 per cent on \$47,000,000, which dividend, added to the 3 per cent (assumed to be earned by the \$47,000,000 lying in the banks) would make 11 1-6 per cent joint interest and dividends. A handsome return on money invested, as investments go to-day!

From the observations immediately preceding, one may gather that the interest earned on the capital, merely deposited in banks, and the interest derived from the use of the public's premiums together produce an income ample enough to enable the companies to renounce all further claims to compensation; that is, to run the underwriting account at bare cost, without a cent of profit.

Underwriting profits such as are insisted upon by the insurance companies are in the nature of extortion, and a display of their underwriting results alone, without a simultaneous display of their investment profits, is a delusion of the insuring public.

The public may view with a certain amount of indifference the fact that it furnishes all the funds that go to indemnify it for losses; that it sacrifices at least one-half of its contributions for the sake of having the remaining half administered; it may contemplate with equanimity the fact that this cost of guardianship is to-day greater than ever before; it may overlook the greed of companies which exact to-day the greatest dividends since 1860: it may know that the recent startling increase in the rates was absolutely unwarranted, and that 20 per cent of the spoils thereof immediately went to brokers, already better paid than ever before. Yet surely the public temper should be stirred when it reflects that it is not even given credit for the serious and persistent efforts which it has made, and continues to make, in the direction of fire prevention and extinction!

In the last thirty years vast improvements in protection have been made by the public: buildings are better constructed; fire-retarding materials and devices have been introduced; fire alarms, watchmen's clocks, automatic sprinklers, chemical fire pails have been put in; water supplies and pumps have been improved; hazards recognized and avoided; better brigades drilled and maintained; better equipments furnished—in fact, the responsible insured have spent huge sums to keep fires down. Fires have been kept down, as the figures show, and yet, the vast expenditures by property owners to protect their premises and cities, so as to avoid fire and to provide for its prompt extinction, have merely resulted in the highest average premium in the last forty-two years. Is it not

evident that there is something woefully defective in the system that brings about such results?

It would be impossible within the space now at command to deal with every aspect of fire insurance deficiencies. An endeavor has been made to show that, viewing the question on its economic or financial side only, the public is being wretchedly exploited. Only a brief indication can be given of how this exploitation is accentuated by the languid attitude of the companies and their agents towards the ethical elements of insurance. It has been shown that the whole fire insurance bill, with the terrible waste and insatiable greed involved, has to be settled by the section of the business community which is responsible and honest. It is one of the worst, one of the most glaring, defects of the present methods of insurance that the insured are not only heavily taxed for the benefit of their trustees, but that, in view of the fact that four-fifths of the fire loss is due to incendiarism and criminal carelessness, the honest and careful must pay heavily for the crime and folly of the unscrupulous and careless.

It is unreasonable that for so many years in succession the fire loss should maintain such huge dimensions. This heavy loss has persisted because of the erroneous principles upon which the business of insurance is conducted. Consider one element alone, the acceptance of a risk: in nearly every case, the desirability of accepting a risk should be gauged by the moral character of the applicant for insurance. The nature of this character, whilst ascertainable by the agent familiar with local conditions, is most often beyond the ken of the companies' head men. The man who is to receive 20 per cent of the premium is naturally not too cautious in regard to the acceptance of risks, and certainly, with this 20 per cent in prospect it would be strange if the benefit of a doubt were not given in his own favor. It is well known that among stock companies no adequate or efficient system exists for checking moral risks, and it is equally well known that the vast majority of fire losses are consequent upon moral laxities of some kind or other, chief among which may be classed gross negligence and carelessness and other preventable conditions. With the great majority of applicants for insurance, the prevailing methods are inadequate to gauge these qualities.

Much loss also could be obviated if the companies sought more actively to eliminate the causes of fire and to increase the facilities.

for extinguishing it, rather than to await its scourgings and then to raise prices. The easiest manner of recouping themselves for losses has, of course, been the raising of rates; but this act does not coerce destructive elements and classes into becoming a profitable investment, at least it never has. It merely swells the agents' income and places a heavier burden on the honest insured. The most efficacious means of improving fire conditions is to enlist personal selfishness on the side of fire prevention. As long as a state which invites fire costs for insurance scarcely more than a condition which precludes fire, 50 per cent of the premiums will burn up, each year. For, to-day, most people buy insurance because it allows them to become more careless.

Among heavy insurers, the truth begins to be realized that they have been grouped and allied with innumerable heterogeneous and utterly undesirable elements, for the purpose of paying individual losses out of the common purse. Also, the conviction gains ground that under existing methods of insurance those who, as a class, have an excellent record, and do not burn down, must necessarily pay the indemnity given to those classes who do burn down frequently, whether accidentally or with pleasure aforethought. These heavy insurers, in many instances, have discovered that it is possible to form from among themselves a homogeneous, mutually protective group, rigidly defined in regard to business, moral, and physical hazard. They have thereby set up conditions of mutual service which can be watched and controlled for the best benefit of all concerned. They have not been burdened with the losses arising from elements more dangerous than themselves, whether the dangers were inherent to the business conducted or to the character of the persons engaged therein. The consequence of such action has been that these groups of insurers, associated for mutual helpfulness, have made immense savings whilst securing ample protection. No better illustration of the results obtainable by such organization can be afforded than by the New England Mutuals, which to-day insure over one billion four hundred million dollars' worth of factory property at a net cost of about fourteen cents per \$100 of insurance.

Despite the great difficulties of organization and of development attaching to such associations for mutual benefit, despite the spirit of suspicious antagonism often evinced, and the short-sightedness often displayed when the public is asked to bestir itself for

self-interest and common benefit, the business community more and more will protect itself against loss by fire, by forming voluntary associations of men known to each other, engaged in the same business, exposed to the same hazards, and convinced of their individual inability to have "a successful fire." For such as fail to ally themselves under such conditions and for such purposes there will always remain the present method and plan of insurance. However, the dignity of the profession and the public peace of mind call aloud for the introduction of more intelligent, more economical, less distasteful, and less evident methods of exploitation.

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TRADES UNIONISM

For several years our country has been subjected to uncertainty and disturbance on the part of industrial workers to an unprecedented and very alarming extent. The whole country has suffered and a large part of the people have been directly affected thereby. This situation has culminated in the outbreaks or strikes of the past year, which have tied up many important industries. Naturally, the greatest interest has arisen in the means, the organizations, by which this situation has been effected. These organizations are the trades unions, and what they are, what their aims are, and what means are employed to realize these aims, are questions of deepest national import.

Trades unions are combinations or associations of workmen of the various trades for the mutual support and advancement of what the association considers its best interest. For their origin we must look back at least to the "guilds" of the Middle Ages—before the introduction of the factory system or of any but the crudest mechanical devices. The industrial relations were of the simplest nature, the "business" was run in a patriarchal way. Gradually the head of the business became a merchant and always further removed from the ranks of the artisans. Disputes soon arose as to the manner of doing work or concerning the pay therefor, and in 1776 we find Adam Smith writing, as of a familiar thing, of combinations being formed by workmen to collectively force up the price of their labor. Such combinations were regarded in England as late as 1824 as "conspiracies in restraint of trade and illegal." As a result of repressive laws, a fraternal feeling sprang up, heavy oaths and a policy of secrecy were adopted, beneficial features, such as sick, accident, superannuation, and death benefits, were instituted, and defence funds founded. Many, if not all, of these features still persist, although the outward forms of the bonds have been eliminated. Through political agitation, largely induced by the unions, factory acts, mines acts, and employer's liability acts, have been passed in all civilized countries, nearly all of which have been highly favorable to the wage-earning class. The State of Pennsylvania in 1872 recognized the right of members of labor organizations to refuse to work under regulations contrary to the rules of the organization, but further provided that

"nothing shall prevent the prosecution and punishment, under existing laws, of any person or persons who shall in any way hinder another who desires to labor for his employer from so doing."

The members of trades unions in this country are said now to number altogether about one and one-half millions. The growth in membership and strength has been especially rapid during the last four years, a fact mainly due to the opportunity offered for the success of labor propaganda by the phenomenal industrial activity of our country. Many of these organizations are either independent or local. Others have a parent organization, a general directing body over all the local organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor. Generally speaking, the fundamental aim or object of all these organizations is to obtain increased wages for a decreased number of hours of work. Secondly, but scarcely less important in the eyes of many members of the unions, they attempt to obtain recognition of the union and the restriction of output.

The first of these aims is legitimate enough, and the success which has crowned the efforts of certain unions, particularly of recent years in this regard, is their chief claim to consideration from the wage-earner. For example, consider the situation in two of our trades to-day—the bricklayers and the blacksmiths. The second requires a higher order of intelligence and skill, it requires continual learning and a much longer period before the attainment of ordinary proficiency, it is much harder work and involves greater danger of injury, the conditions under which the work is done are more disagreeable. The bricklayer will say that he can work only in fair weather, and that his wages must, therefore, be high enough to compensate him for the time when he is idle. This is no longer true, for cement is used in place of common mortar, so that operations can be carried on in freezing weather. The men are frequently protected by temporary enclosures, lighted and even heated. Yet bricklayers are getting five dollars for eight hours' work, while blacksmiths are fortunate if they obtain three dollars for ten hours' work. You do not find this difference between members of varying efficiency in one trade, for the union specifies that all shall receive the same rate, but the difference is between the two trades and greatly in favor of that of lower order. This is a most forceful illustration of the advantage to labor of a strong organization and of collective bargaining.

The wage per hour may fluctuate to a certain extent with the

price of food and the general condition of the country, but a reduction of the working hours once obtained remains. The reduction has been made within a few decades from fifteen to twelve, from twelve to ten, and now all government and much private work is on an eight-hour schedule. It is probable, and seems to be the tendency, that this will become general wherever practical to complete the day's work in such a time. For this reduction of hours the working classes have to thank the trades unions.

Recognition is not always insisted upon by the union. Where it is granted it means that the employer agrees to employ and discharge union men through the union officials, to grade his employees (and incidentally their wages) according to the standards of the union, to subject his shop discipline to union rules, frequently to buy only unionized supplies for his business, and to employ only members of the union. Sooner or later these conditions and their logical extensions become intolerable, they sometimes even conflict with the labor laws, and a rupture follows.

Restriction of production is not generally admitted by labor leaders to be one of the tenets of their policy. Conclusive evidence, however, can be furnished to prove that the so-called "ca' canny" (go easy) policy of British trade unions is rapidly gaining a foothold in this country, and, unless checked, will work dire mischief for the entire land. No more demoralizing policy for the workers can be conceived than this. There is no greater fallacy than the belief that there is a fixed or limited amount of work to be done in the world, the husbanding of which will redound to the ultimate benefit of the wage-earner. The recent decline of the British manufactures may be attributed more largely to this mistaken policy than to any other single cause. A writer in the *London Times* has shown, in a series of articles on "The Crisis in British Industries," that the "ca' canny" system has reduced the product of an English trade unionist's work to a point where his labor, once the most profitable in the world, now frequently nets a loss to his employer. It is stated that thirty years ago an English bricklayer would lay 1,200 bricks in a day, now the maximum allowed by the union is four hundred. Nor is this the only means adopted to effect limitation, for the British unions have refused to allow the introduction of improved machinery, they have adopted stringent rules limiting the hours and rate of its operation, and, when these measures were found

not to be efficacious, have deliberately planned its injury or destruction. In some shops, after the failure of the above means, the disappointed men have committed serious crimes by malicious and persistent interference with the operation through the changing of feeds and speeds, "racking" by reckless running, "forgetting" to lubricate, or the breaking and "losing" of small parts. The defence of the limitation of output on the part of certain unions is that without it the normally average worker would be forced to come up to the standard set by the strongest and most skillful, and in this way become worn out and useless before his time. If this were proven true, or even well substantiated, it would merit attention and become a proper subject of governmental control. The charge, however, is baseless. No employer expects all men to be equally industrious and skillful, nor to drive his men beyond their strength, but he naturally desires to buy labor just as he purchases any other commodity, that is, according to quality and quantity; he does not wish to pay the same rate of wage to the least efficient man as he does to the most efficient. Yet this is, in effect, what the trade union demands.

Piece-work and premium systems have been devised for the purpose of stimulating industry and rewarding efficiency. The premium system is regarded by many students of wage adjustment as the most equitable plan of wage payment that has yet been devised. Assuming that a fair base price for a given job has been fixed upon in advance as satisfactory to employer and employee (being adapted to the earning capacity of the average worker), to which is added a premium for an increase of output by the more diligent and skillful operatives, we have a system which pays a fair "living" wage to the average worker and then encourages him by a substantial inducement to excel. This cannot be contorted into a method of forcing the men into activity beyond their strength. It would seem that if the unions desired to elevate the standard of efficiency of their men the universal establishment of such a system would be their first demand instead of an object of their abhorrence.

Recently a strike occurred in a machine shop, against the wishes of the employees, by the order of the union to which they belonged, to compel the company to abolish the premium system, and, in this way, to reduce the earnings of their men. The premium system had been in use for two years where it was giving satisfaction to the company and the men, and it was reported that the official representatives of

the union refused to submit the matters in dispute to a disinterested board of conciliation. Labor unions which embrace this policy of restriction of output as a means of maintaining the status of their trade should reflect that it offers the very greatest stimulus to the invention and perfection of automatic machines which dispense more and more with skilled hand-workers and skilled attendants. In the foundry, for example, molding machines operated by unskilled laborers or even boys are fast displacing skilled molders in the lighter classes of work and their scope is being continually enlarged.

As to the means of realizing the aims of trades unions, the first is agitation followed by a presentation to the employers of the case of the employees. Sometimes an attempt is made to argue the case to a settlement, more generally an ultimatum is delivered—the alternative of compliance is a general tie up of the shops by a strike of the union labor. If this is not effective because of the ability to operate without union labor, every pressure of persuasion, ostracism, diversion and opprobrium, and finally violent force is brought to bear upon those willing to work for the firm under established conditions. This is brought to bear not only upon the worker, but also upon his wife and children and sometimes more distant relatives, and by not only the strikers but their sympathizers and those dependent upon or at the mercy of the strikers, such as grocerymen and other suppliers. Every effort is made to interfere with and cripple the employer, *i. e.*, the “boycott” against him and against all who support him; or the “sympathetic strike” by the members of other unions is resorted to in order to tie up other business houses and thus bring outside commercial pressure to bear upon the resisting employer. These are crude, back-handed weapons which have rarely proven effective.

The control over the unions, or the leadership of them, is in the hands of men elected from amongst their own ranks and often selected without regard to the possession of those qualities which are generally considered necessary to a wise counsellor or an able leader. These men are usually poor workers, or at best mediocre. They are selected because they have the persuasive or the blatant tongue. In an excited meeting, by the exhibition of a spirit of bravado, they carry their fellows away from the conservative and moderate and obtain the leadership. They now consider themselves above their trade and either leave it or become so intolerable in their attitude

as to compel their discharge. The ordinary routine of their new position, the desire to convert all the non-union men about them or some other cause may lead to such neglect of work that the employer finds it necessary to be rid of them. They and their supporters consider that it is a blow aimed at the union. The result is frequently bad blood. At any rate, they will now be supported on a salary from the union, and to keep the men interested they must be active. This activity usually takes the form of agitation for a strike against this or that "wrong." The union so led is generally largely made up of men of inferior skill, and it is for this reason that they do not succeed well, are poorer paid than some others, have to be followed up in their work by the foreman and are generally fruit for discontent. Such a union is always having trouble. In sharp contrast with it is such a union as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the archetype of all that is best in unionism and an example of what intelligent and careful leadership may do for organized labor. Its strifes have been few, and none at all in recent years; it is rich, it is powerful, it is recognized as a power for good. It strives honestly to raise the standard of efficiency of its men, and the card of the brotherhood is regarded as a strong recommendation of efficiency and good character by railroad superintendents and master mechanics the country over.

Radical leadership has made most of our unions unsuccessful and given them a name for bad faith and for mean and petty action. There is reason for hope in the improvement during the past few years in the leadership of some that gradually all will select either their own most fit representatives or that labor leaders will be trained to their calling as are lawyers or generals. When they do profit by the example of the most successful, much of the present prejudice against them will be forgotten, and a man with the union card will have a certificate of efficiency and good character, for none other will be eligible. When these are the effects of unionism upon labor, the employer will welcome and encourage the movement as one of the modern agencies for doing the world's work expeditiously and economically.

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THE VALUE OF AUDITING TO THE BUSINESS MAN

In the discussion of this subject three questions of a preliminary character require attention :

1. What is the distinction between the bookkeeper and the auditor?
2. Of what does an audit consist?
3. What special knowledge is possessed by the bookkeeper which the auditor does not have?

There are three distinct spheres of action in dealing with accounts: (1) The accountant, whose work is constructive, is the arbiter of methods, who regulates how the work shall be done. (2) The bookkeeper, who follows along the lines laid down for him, and (3) the auditor, who reviews the work, sees that it is properly carried out and certifies to the correctness of the results obtained. These three operations can be the work of one individual, and, though more commonly the bookkeeper occupies a subordinate position, with, in some cases, a professional auditor to supervise him, the number of public accountants who are taking positions, where they really act as head bookkeepers, especially with the larger corporations, is constantly increasing. Such men seldom do any actual bookkeeping work, and often combine the duties of accountant, bookkeeper and auditor. In other words, old distinctions are disappearing, as the science of bookkeeping increases in difficulty and efficiency. As a general proposition, however, the knowledge of bookkeeping, which is the average bookkeeper's only equipment, is but the A B C of the accountant and auditor, and the latter by training and experience must obtain a wider and more general education than the former has opportunity or inducement to attain. It is most necessary for the auditor to instruct himself in finance and law. He need not know as much of these subjects as the banker or lawyer, but he must have the faculty which they need not possess of interpreting what they have in mind into proper form in his accounts. With the growing complexity of the organization of large corporations, this knowledge increases both in value and difficulty.

and the accountant in active practice does not know from day to day what novel problem he may be called on to solve.

Leaving out of consideration, however, the more complex questions which may confront him, the accountant or auditor is constantly called on to undertake work in businesses with which he has had little or no experience. From this fact arises frequent skepticism as to the value of the public accountant's services. Business men who would not hesitate to consult their lawyer on any question of law, often appear unable to understand that the public accountant stands on precisely the same ground as the lawyer, and consequently will frequently trust to the more limited judgment of a bookkeeper who has had experience in a similar line of business. No doubt this hesitation generally arises from the fact that accountancy in its higher grades is a profession that has only recently come into notice in this country, but it is also due to the lack of a proper appreciation of the scope of its utility.

The science of double-entry accounts rests on the simplest of axioms, and that is every debit must have its corresponding credit. In that one sentence is summed up all that it is necessary for the bookkeeper to know. The carrying out of this simple rule, however, leads to almost unlimited variations, which may be highly complex in character, and it is on the intelligent handling of the figures taken from a set of double-entry books that the value of a statement of the accounts depends. In doing his work, the accountant is guided by certain basic principles, some of which are common to all classes, and others to certain sections, of the whole field of accounts. Certain conditions which apply to one business are common to others, which may be entirely dissimilar in many of their details, and it is on the power to adjust his experience to fit unfamiliar conditions that the accountant must mainly depend. Under such circumstances, the bookkeeper's acquaintance with details may be considerably more extensive than the auditor's, and it is at times well for the latter that this is the case. The value of his services arises from the fact that he brings to his work a knowledge specialized to an extent which the bookkeeper seldom has opportunity to acquire. It is hardly too much to say that the accountant need not be a bookkeeper at all, but this is as true as is the fact that the most brilliant lawyer may not be able to draw up an affidavit as well as his clerk can.

To give a concise definition of an audit is not an easy matter. Its variations are almost unlimited, and its exact significance depends on the determination of the auditor's responsibilities. The actual details of an audit and the responsibilities depend on the *raison d'être* of the audit itself. It may consist simply of the checking of a well designed set of accounts in a business having no complex features; in other cases, the exact reverse may obtain. Or, the auditor's services may be required on an examination for the purpose of the purchase, sale, or incorporation of a business, or an investigation occasioned by fraud, diminishing profits, threatened bankruptcy, or a variety of other causes. As a rule, however, as already shown, the term audit is generally used to cover a simple checking of accounts to prove their correctness, and a distinction is made between such work and investigations or examinations for any purpose. All these classes, however, come within the auditor's duties. The object in every case is to certify to the correctness or falsity of the figures as shown on the books, but this cannot be given as a definition of the word audit.

Some qualifications on this are necessary. For example, a set of figures might be absolutely correct, as shown by the books, but in the case of an incorporated company, the figures might contain items which should never have appeared. A case within the writer's experience illustrates this fact. In the course of an audit, it was discovered that not only had none of the dividends paid been legally declared, but that the company had never legally come into existence, and even if it had, at the time of the audit, it had no lawfully constituted officers. This condition, however, had not prevented the concern from earning and paying dividends of 2 per cent a month for a matter of nearly three years. Fortunately, the corporation was a close one, all the shareholders being near relatives, so that it was possible to rectify the mistakes without much trouble.

The errors which it is the auditor's business to detect may be classified as follows: (1) Errors of principle, (2) errors of omission, (3) errors of fraud. Examples which may be suggested by these errors are:

- a. The inclusion in the revenue accounts of profits which are not available for distribution;
- b. The failure to make provision for invisible wastes or losses;
- c. The omissions of liabilities in drawing up a balance sheet.

The first is an example of an error of principle; the other two are errors of both principle and omission, and often all three are errors prompted by the desire to deceive, even if they are not founded on actual fraud.

It is an axiom of accounts that a profit is not earned until its receipt is actual or is reasonably assured. An illustration of this is the usual practice of treating interest and dividends receivable. It is customary to include interest accrued on first-class bonds in the accounts as the amount is certain and its receipt is reasonably sure. Dividends on stocks, on the other hand, are not credited up until they are declared, for their amount is uncertain, and there is no assurance that anything will be distributed.

The most common method of bringing unavailable profits into the revenue accounts is to increase the cost price of inventory items, or to raise the book value of real estate, securities owned, or some similar asset. In each of these cases the increase in value may be actual, and often the action may be prompted by a perfectly innocent desire to make a good showing. The test of the legitimacy of such profits is, can they be distributed if brought into account? And, in each of the cases in point, this can be made possible only by the sale of property in question. Where inventory items are concerned, this is likely to happen in the near future, and so the bringing of such profits into the account may result only in the anticipation of a reasonably certain gain. Some years ago, in the English courts, the present Lord Chief Justice, then Sir Richard Webster, advanced the ingenious argument that such profits were not profits of selling, but profits of buying, and therefore it was perfectly legitimate to take all inventory items at market instead of at cost price. The objection to such a claim is that there is no certainty that the market may not have declined, even to a point below the purchase price, by the time a sale is consummated.

The increase in the book value of real estate, securities or other similar assets, stands on an entirely distinct basis. Such properties are, in the case of any ordinary business, usually acquired because they are necessary to its proper conduct, and their sale would mean the loss of certain advantages, if it did not result in the extinction of the business itself. There is, therefore, no possibility of realizing the necessary cash on this class of profits, and their distribution can be made only at the expense of the working

capital. In other words, any dividends from such a source can be paid only out of funds which are required for other purposes. In dealing with this subject, only the payment of cash dividends has been considered, the question of stock dividends being ignored. If, however, an increase in the stock, to offset the increased value in assets, is justifiable, and such is often the case, the profit so brought into account should not be merged with the ordinary revenue, but should be stated separately and distinctly.

The most common and effective method of detecting such errors, as are outlined above, is to draw up comparative statements of accounts, at the beginning of the period under review, placing in a parallel column the figures at the end of the period and setting up and examining the various changes. By this means a comprehensive view of the course of the business is obtainable and attention is drawn to any suspicious looking items. A heavy decrease in the current assets which was not neutralized by a similar condition in the current liabilities, would challenge inquiry, especially if it was accomplished by an increase in plant or some other fixed asset. By treating the inventory in a similar manner, large fluctuations would stand out prominently and deliberate padding, if extensive enough to be of consequence, should be detected.

Other methods of padding the revenue accounts are the taking in, as finished, work on which large expenditures are still required, or the inclusion of the total amount of a sale of a lease, or more than the proper proportion of a contract having a number of years to run. The writer, a few years ago, encountered instances of both of these methods. In the first, a company had contracted to perform certain services for a term of ten years; they had been paid the full amount, but had done only one year's work. This fact, however, did not prevent them from taking the entire sum they had received into their profits. Exactly similar cases are not common, for it is unusual for such lump payments to be made, but cases where profits on contracts have been taken in excess of the proportion the finished work bears to the whole, are not at all unusual and are oftentimes very hard to detect. In the other case mentioned, a company had leased a part of their property for a term of years, the rental to be paid annually. An examination of their profit and loss account showed that they had included the whole amount, such a matter as deferred payments apparently being con-

sidered of no consequence. This again was unusual, but it furnishes an illustration of the extraordinary efforts to make a good showing which may be met with.

The failure to make provision for invisible wastes, or losses, generally takes the form of the omission of any provision for depreciation, or bad debts. It is as sensible to omit part of the cost of the raw material in a manufactured article as to fail to take account of that part of a machine's life which is consumed in the making. There lately appeared, in a much-advertised guide for accounting students, the statement that there was no need to charge off any depreciation as long as a machine was doing as good work as was possible, and that it was by no means uncommon in mining districts to find engines which had been in use for fifty years and were just as good as ever. Every accountant comes across cases of unusual survival on the part of machinery. The writer once met with a printing press of this description. Its owner cited it as a proof of the folly of making any allowance for depreciation. He claimed, with what truth cannot be told, that it was forty years old, it certainly looked it. He betrayed his case, however, by stating that it was one of an original plant of ten presses installed when the business started. Its companions had long gone to the scrap heap, and the survivor was, by its owner's confession, only capable of the roughest kind of work. But he triumphantly claimed it would do *that* as well as a brand new press.

The man who will not allow for depreciation will be always with us, and so unfortunately will the man who insists on writing off too much. The latter is really far more difficult to deal with, as his plea is that he does not want to be fooled by an overestimate of his assets, and wants to have something in hand for hard times. It is certainly exasperating for the auditor who wishes to do more than show the bare amount of the profits, to be confronted with a plant account which has been written down to one dollar or some inadequate figure. The value of a comparison between the profits of different periods is, of course, destroyed, and very often no possibility of estimating the future course of the business remains.

A favorite question with the examiners for accountancy degrees is: How can the auditor be certain that all the liabilities are disclosed on the books? An auditor cannot be absolutely certain on this point. There are, of course, certain features to look out for and

certain precautions which can be taken. Accrued charges of any kind, naturally occur as the most common errors of omission, and the obtaining of statements from all the creditors on the books is a precaution sometimes resorted to, but when every care along such lines has been taken, there still remains a large opportunity for failure to get all liabilities on to the balance sheet. An examination of the inventory and of the invoices passed directly after the close of the fiscal period, will often bring to light many omissions but the deliberate holding back of large expense items, for example, a heavy lawyer's bill, or a judgment for damages, may in the absence of any evidence of its existence, foil the most careful auditor.

Deliberate errors of fraud on a large scale are fortunately rare, when the volume of business is taken into account, and when they occur are more generally found outside of what can strictly be described as bookkeeping. In the small, much-advertised companies which are constantly being ground out, to catch the unwary, however, errors of accounting which it is charitable to suppose are made in ignorance continually occur. The most common of these is the custom of counting as profits the proceeds of the shares sold to the public. The method used is as follows: A property of the agreed value, say \$100,000, is purchased from the vendor for \$1,000,000. The vendor then returns \$900,000 in shares to the treasury of the company. In this way the shares have been issued fully paid and non-assessable, and the property stands in the books at \$1,000,000. The public are then offered shares worth \$1 fully paid, etc., etc., for the trifling sum of five cents,—all subscriptions received are reckoned as profits, and if the demand is brisk, the price is rapidly advanced and larger and larger dividends declared. This continues until the shareholders discover that they have been paying office rent, salaries, and advertising for the privilege of receiving as dividends a moiety of the capital which they have invested. If they get off at that, they are fortunate, for many such schemes have little to distinguish them from the "get-rich-quick" frauds, except greater difficulty in bringing their promoters to book.

While frauds on a large scale are comparatively rare, embezzlement by employees, which are covered up by falsification of the books, are unfortunately only too common, and the exposure of the culprits forms one of the most disagreeable of the accountant's

duties. No rule can be laid down for the detection of errors of this kind, except the exercise of extreme care. The greatest difficulty often is, to catch the end of the thread, and to grasp the methods by which the embezzlement is concealed. The writer once had a case, where the first clue he obtained that anything was wrong, was the fact that a cheque for the petty sum of \$1.65 was offered as a receipt. It can only be supposed that this was a slip due to the necessity of producing a balance in a hurry, for the culprit was an expert book-keeper, but it was one of the slips that almost invariably occur in such cases.

We have finally to inquire: How are certain leading accounts usually audited? The following have been selected for study: (a) Credit sales; (b) accounts and bills receivable; (c) depreciation; (d) surplus.

To make sure of the correctness of the sales as stated in the books, is only possible in an audit of a small business, for it necessitates the checking of every shipment or delivery made. This is, of course, impossible in the case of a large concern, and if the accounts will stand a certain amount of testing, they are generally assumed by the auditor to be correct. How these tests are to be applied and the extent of their probable accuracy, depends largely upon the comparative perfection of the accounts to which they are applied. Where a continuous inventory is kept, the check can be made much more efficient than where this is not the case. Perhaps the easiest business to check up closely in this respect is in the jewelry trade, for although the value of the gems contained in the inventory can only be appraised by experts, at least the more important items appear in the books under certain well-defined numbers, and it is a comparatively easy matter to trace them if necessary. Each class of stone has its distinct number; diamonds or packets of diamonds in the case of small stones may be numbered from one to five hundred; pearls from five hundred to one thousand and so on, so that with reasonable care every sale can be verified. In the general run of businesses, however, no such thorough check is possible, and the auditor must depend on comparison between periods, and on the exercise of ceaseless vigilance to save him from a false step. Details which demand especial attention, are the charging up of packages which will be allowed for on return, and the provision for returns and allowances.

It should be possible, as a rule, to make sure of the value of bills receivable, as they are limited in number. They should be listed, those which are overdue noted, and a lookout kept for long-continued renewals and accommodation paper which may be a liability instead of an asset. Accounts receivable, on the other hand, are often so numerous that their close scrutiny is impossible. Where this is the case, a "controlling" account is generally kept. The total of this account should be proved with the summary of the debtors' ledgers, and the provision of an adequate reserve for bad and doubtful debts and returns and allowances should be insisted on. Certain accounts taken at haphazard should be checked and any unusual features noted. It is impossible to lay down any law as to the maximum period of credit that should be allowed before an account is considered doubtful, for a great deal depends on the peculiarities of the trade under review. The indiscriminate charging off accounts receivable is, however, to be deprecated as long as a reserve proportionate to the average loss in prior years is set up. As a matter of fact, the collection of an account is only impossible: (1) When the debtor has received his discharge from the bankruptcy courts. (2) When he is dead and his estate has been administered. (3) When a composition of the debt has been accepted. (4) When he has successfully defended an action brought against him for recovery of the debt. (5) When action is barred by the Statute of Limitations. This does not necessarily mean that all such accounts should be left in the active ledgers, but that the possibility of their recovery should not be lost sight of.

The question of depreciation is one of the most complicated with which the auditor has to deal. As a matter of fact, the adequacy of the allowance made under this head is generally more a question for the engineer than for the accountant. Two considerations must be recognized in dealing with the question: (1) The ultimate expiration of the useful life of the object to be depreciated, which is inevitable; and (2) the chance, especially in the case of machinery or process plants, of its continued use becoming unremunerative on account of more economical methods being discovered, which is very possible. As a rule, the auditor had better confine his attention to an endeavor to have some allowance for depreciation made in the accounts and to seeing that such allowance is made in a form which is likely to produce satisfactory results.

The three most usual methods of making such an allowance are: (1) By writing off a percentage of the cost each year. (2) By writing off a percentage on the diminishing value. (3) By setting aside a sum which on an annuity basis will return the cost at the expiration of the object's probable life. It is claimed that the last of these methods is the most scientific, but from an accounting point of view this is open to question. The value of any set of accounts is enhanced by the extent to which they make comparisons between different periods possible. It is needless to point out that as a general rule the greater the age of buildings, machinery, etc., the greater is the cost of keeping them in repair. If it is desirable, therefore, to determine the average plant cost of an article produced by any machine, it is necessary to divide the total original cost of the machine, the expenditure on the necessary repairs during its life, less its residual or scrap value, by the total output during its period of production. The result will be the average cost of each unit manufactured. Such a calculation can, of course, only be made after the machine is worn out, but the theory of the question should be borne in mind. Since the necessary repairs must invariably increase as the machine's period of usefulness expires, approximately correct results can be obtained only by decreasing the charge for depreciation as the cost of repairs increases. On this basis, therefore, the second method mentioned is the more commendable.

The subject is far from exhausted, however, even when the problems of dealing with wear and tear are satisfactorily settled. A number of objects subject to depreciation remain, such as patent rights, premiums paid for leases, and allowances for the exhaustion of mineral-bearing land.

As the exact life of any patent right is known, this class would appear to offer few difficulties. It must not be overlooked, however, that the good will created during the protected term may be considerable and may even exceed in value the original cost of the patent itself, or that the term of life of a basic patent may be greatly prolonged by patentable improvements being made, prior to its expiration. The term of a lease determines the amount which must be allowed for its extinction; and in both these cases the annuity basis for figuring depreciation is the most desirable.

The depreciation of mineral-bearing lands can be conveniently illustrated by coal mines. In this case, interest on the investment

should be allowed each year, and an estimated provision per ton of the coal mined should be made to offset cost of the property by the time it is exhausted, plus the interest for the year in which the output was made. Any residual value such land may have must also be taken into account.

A surplus may be defined as the excess value of the assets over the combined liabilities and capital. Where the accounts of an ordinary commercial concern are under consideration, many accountants prefer to call this excess the balance of profit and loss account, general profit and loss account, or some such term, in order to make a distinction between the surplus of a bank or similar institution, and that of other businesses. The accuracy of the surplus must, of course, depend on the accuracy of every other item entering into the balance sheet. If the balance sheet were an absolutely correct statement of conditions at all times, the certainty of the surplus being properly stated would be a simple matter. This, however, is only the case before the ordinary concern has done a stroke of business, or when its affairs have been finally liquidated. Every balance sheet between these periods is, to a greater or less extent, an estimate of the condition of the business. Consequently, the auditing of a surplus consists of carefully gauging the correctness of every other portion of the accounts. Perhaps as good a way as possible of illustrating this, is to take the case of a business which has set aside a certain reserve for some purpose, for a reserve and a surplus have much in common. We will suppose this reserve has been accumulated to provide for new machinery when the old is worn out, and that, as an extra precaution, the cash so set aside has been withdrawn and invested outside the business. The balance sheet might then appear somewhat like the following :

| ASSETS. | | LIABILITIES. | |
|---|-------------|---|-------------|
| Real estate, machinery, etc. | \$1,000,000 | Capital | \$1,250,000 |
| Investments for sinking fund purposes | 250,000 | Reserve for depreciation of machinery | 250,000 |
| Current assets and inventory | 850,000 | Current liabilities | 500,000 |
| | | Surplus | 100,000 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | \$2,100,000 | | \$2,100,000 |

A layman might well hold up such a statement as a model of conservative management. If, however, the auditor on examination found the current assets and inventory contained worthless items

amounting to \$500,000—of course, this is stating an extreme case—and an appraisal of the real estate, machinery, etc., showed its true value to be only half what the books stated, he would have to reconsider his opinion in the light of such a statement as this.

| ASSETS. | | LIABILITIES. | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| Real estate, machinery, etc. | \$375,000 | Capital | \$1,250,000 |
| Investments | 250,000 | Current liabilities | 500,000 |
| Current assets and inventory | 350,000 | | |
| Deficit | 775,000 | | |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | \$1,750,000 | | \$1,750,000 |

Such a radical change—no greater than has actually been proven necessary in the cases of many bankrupt corporations—is worth a little consideration. The reserve set aside to provide for depreciation, its inadequacy fully demonstrated, disappears, for a reserve and a deficit would be indeed incongruous neighbors. The sinking fund so conservatively provided for the purchase of new machinery has sunk out of sight, and the cash invested in its securities will barely suffice to restore the equilibrium between the current assets and current liabilities. The company which made so brave a showing on paper remains, its capital impaired over 60 per cent and with a poor \$100,000 working capital left, is about ready to join the ranks of those corporations whose reconstruction is so distressing their unfortunate shareholders at the present time.

The services to be rendered by the public accountant are not however confined to the correction of errors and abuses. His training and independent position enable him to suggest improvements in most accounting systems, which probably would not occur to those in charge of the banks. Where his visits are made periodically they are apt to correct that tendency to get into a rut, which is the bookkeeper's most common failing. Ignorance and not fraud is the frequent cause for the failure of firms and corporations, errors which at the beginning would be readily rectified, being allowed to cumulate until their effect is disastrous. Of late years accountancy, as a profession, has materially advanced in proficiency and public esteem. It mainly depends on the business man how rapid the progress is to be in the future and to what extent he is to be benefited both in his personal affairs and in his responsibilities as a corporation director.

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THE LABOR SYSTEM OF THE JOHN B. STETSON COMPANY.

The labor situation being part of the industrial situation as a whole, it necessarily changes as that develops. So no system of dealing with labor is of great permanence and no system is capable of general application without some, generally great, modification to suit it to local conditions. Every concern of importance experiments with new methods, until it finally evolves a plan from its experience which is more or less completely enforced in treating with its employees.

The John B. Stetson Company of Philadelphia is a stock company capitalized at \$4,000,000 and organized to engage in the manufacture of fur-felt hats of the finer grades. While the scope of its product is thus limited, the quality desired in the product has demanded, and motives of economy have urged the incorporation in the company's plant of various subsidiary industries usually operated as businesses independent of hat-making proper. Chief of these operations which the John B. Stetson Company has added to the numerous operations of the hatter are the making of machines, the cutting of fur from skins imported in a raw state and the preparation of the fur for the felting process, the weaving of silk into bands, the cutting of hides into sweat leathers, the printing of dies on the leathers, and the making of boxes. In the aggregate the manufacture of hats becomes a complicated process requiring labor of many diverse forms. The labor is divided among about twenty-four hundred employees, of whom nineteen hundred are male and five hundred female. All but one hundred and fifty are over sixteen years of age and this number comprises sixty-nine boys and eighty-one girls.

The objects sought to be obtained by the application to this body of the labor system to be described may be thus outlined :

1. The accomplishment of work of the best quality possible.
2. The accomplishment of work in quantity to meet the demands of the business.
3. The accomplishment of work at such cost that the product will be profitable.

4. The maintenance of working conditions as healthful and agreeable as possible.

5. The encouragement of personal interest on the part of the individual employee in the business as a whole.

6. The promotion of the general well-being of employees through institutional establishments.

These objects are not co-ordinate, as there is an important bearing of the last three upon the first.

Unskilled labor and mere machine operation occupy comparatively few of the employees of the company. The work of the largest and more important departments requires skill of a high degree. Experience has shown that this skill can best be acquired by having boys taught in the departments themselves. To this end the force is recruited almost entirely by means of apprenticeship. The elasticity of the working force necessary to meet the demands of the business is maintained by the extension or restriction of the number of boys indentured. Shorn of its quaint phraseology which recalls the mediæval guild, the principal provisions of the indenture are: (1) Service on the part of the apprentice for at least three years; if he be under eighteen years of age, until majority. (2) Obligation on the part of the company to furnish necessary instruction. (3) A wage of two dollars a week. In practice the company pays the apprentice after the first year on a piece-work basis by which fair efficiency earns an amount far above the stipulated sum. At the termination of the period of apprenticeship each employee who has faithfully fulfilled his obligations is given a sum amounting to one dollar for every week served, a sum ranging from \$150 to about \$300.

The primary result of apprenticeship is a high order of skill in a special line of work. In addition the long period of service tends to create a feeling of personal interest on the part of the employee in the interests of the company. A permanence and solidarity of the working force is attained impossible under any other system. Having thoroughly learned his trade in making Stetson hats as an apprentice, the journeyman is very unlikely to leave the employ of the company when his indenture ends. Furthermore, the system discourages the migratory habit so common among workmen, a habit of moving from shop to shop for little reason, which is destructive in its tendencies both to discipline and to good work.

The system of promotion is based upon the same idea. Practically all the journeymen have learned their trade as apprentices of the company. From the ranks of these men it is the policy of the company to fill the higher places. The great majority of the foremen are men trained from boyhood in the works who show special skill and ability to be leaders of the other men. This promotion from within is a strong incentive for the ambitious employee to faithful and efficient service, and likewise tends to the same solidarity of interest or *esprit de corps* as results from the system of apprenticeship.

The separation of races is another interesting feature of the organization of the labor force. The different kinds of work embraced in the business have appealed to different classes of workmen. Some require a considerable mechanical skill or manual dexterity. These appeal to Anglo-Saxon intelligence and quickness. The same reason causes them to dislike mere labor or labor coupled with unpleasant conditions such as in the "sizing" and "blocking" departments where almost constant labor in very hot water is required. It was found necessary to draw from different sources for this supply, and the races of southern and eastern Europe were found most available. These departments soon became characterized by the large majority of such people employed in them, and race antipathy was sufficient to stop further entrance to these departments of other races. The interests of discipline and efficiency demanded recognition of the mutual antipathies, and in the interest of harmony certain elements are now confined to certain departments.

Aside from the general plans outlined, there are certain specific schemes, adopted from time to time by the company, for the protection or encouragement of employees, which are partly benevolent and philanthropic in their nature, but which also have a value disciplinary in a broad sense. It is the policy of the company, so far as possible, to encourage the employee by his own achievement to make his way, to help himself, and to provide himself against the needs of old age. The company furnishes the opportunity which takes the following eight forms:

1. *Prizes for apprentices.*—In connection with the celebration of Christmas it is the custom to present to the employees gifts in various forms of considerable value. They are made as rewards of

merit, an exact record being kept of the quality and quantity of the work of each apprentice as the basis of distribution of prizes ranging from five dollar notes to watches of a value of fifty dollars. Last year two hundred boys participated in the lowest award and forty in the highest, with various numbers in the intermediate classes receiving prizes of ten and twenty dollars, 90 per cent of the apprentices participating. Special prizes of still greater value were given to apprentices for particularly good records, including money and paid-up shares in the building association.

2. *Bonuses for faithful work.*—In departments where foreign workmen are largely employed, the proverbial uncertainty of hatters and the irregularity with which they worked led the company to the adoption of a system of bonuses paid at Christmas to the men who had worked continuously and faithfully throughout the year. The first year of the operation of the plan, 5 per cent of his earnings for the year was paid to each faithful journeyman. About 20 per cent of those to whom it applied earned the bonus. The two following years 10 per cent was paid to an increasing proportion of the men. Last year the percentage was increased to 15 and about 90 per cent of the men had worked with sufficient fidelity to participate. Altogether it must be pronounced successful, although it should be added that some men, who for the sake of the bonus were able to control themselves on Saturday throughout the year, were unable to do so on Christmas.

3. *Building association.*—The John B. Stetson Building Association is intimately connected with the manufacturing company. It was organized to encourage thrift, to spread home influences, and to increase the permanence of the working force. It has a large membership, of which over 50 per cent is drawn from the employees. Fifteen per cent of the male adult employees now own their homes.

4. *Savings fund.*—Thrift and economy are encouraged and hoarding discouraged by the maintenance of a savings fund in which 5 per cent interest is paid. Any employee may deposit to the extent of ten dollars per week. Over three hundred employees now have accounts in this fund.

5. *Stock allotment.*—In 1902 the company placed at the disposal of the president, to be allotted to employees, 5,000 shares of its increased common stock of a par value of \$500,000. This stock is

placed in the hands of trustees for the benefit of the employees to whom it is allotted. No payment is made by the employees. The shares are to be paid for at par virtually by their own dividends. At dividend periods an amount equal to the dividend on the shares allotted, less 5 per cent interest on the unpaid balance on the shares, is paid to the trustees and applied by them to the payment of the par value of the shares. The employee at his option may draw annually from the dividend not to exceed 5 per cent of the par value of the shares allotted him. At the end of a period of fifteen years, if paid up, the shares are to be transferred absolutely to the employee. If paid up before the end of this period the entire dividends are to be paid to the employee until the end of the period. If the employee is discharged or voluntarily leaves the employ of the company during the period, he is paid the par value of the shares paid up at the time. If he is disabled or dies, to him or his estate is transferred the number of paid up shares. As the market value of the stock is much above the par value, the latter method of settlement gives a greater value. A desirable form of insurance is thus created. About one-half of the 5,000 shares have thus far been allotted to about two hundred and fifty employees in amounts from five shares upward.

6. *Beneficial fund.*—The company maintains a beneficial fund by a monthly assessment not exceeding twenty-five cents on each employee. Deducting a small amount paid for the services of a physician, the whole of the sum collected is paid in benefits. Adult employees incapacitated for work by illness or injury are paid five dollars a week. In cases of death the sum of one hundred dollars is paid. During the last year, 381 employees received sick benefits from the fund in various amounts up to twenty-five dollars and payments were made in thirteen cases of death.

7. *Pensions.*—A system of pensions for aged or disabled employees has been instituted. Its scope, however, is very limited at present, owing to the youthfulness of the business and the fact that cases of need among old employees are rare.

8. Besides the above a number of institutions have been established of a more usual and general nature. A mission organization has for many years been maintained by the company. The plant includes a hall with a capacity of 2,500 used by a Sunday school, week-day meetings, a musical society and various organizations,

religious and social. A free circulating library is operated in connection with the Sunday school. A hospital and dispensary is maintained, the history of whose work with limited space and facilities is very creditable. Its benefits are not confined to employees, but are open to all and treatment is free in cases of need. At the present time the company is engaged in building a thoroughly equipped modern hospital building to meet the needs of the neighborhood.

The whole object of these schemes has been the protection and encouragement of faithful, efficient service and personal well-being and honesty on the part of all employees. They are all the result of the practical knowledge and experience of the company's management. The success of the company depends entirely upon the ability of the officers in managing it. The most important element of this is the operation of a successful labor system and that depends upon the establishment of confidence on the part of the laborers in both the ability and fairness of the officers. The constant effort of every department is to reduce the cost of its output. How this is done is a most important point in the maintenance of the complete confidence which has been established. It may be done in three ways: By reducing the cost of labor, by saving on the material, or by obtaining higher efficiency in the production. The fact that the foreman usually has grown out of the labor class should be sufficient to restrain him from unfairness to it, but a sharp watch is kept to prevent the possibility, and complaints are always investigated. A boy or girl is not allowed to do what a man could do better. The management is always on the lookout to see that decreased cost is attained by economy of materials used or greater output, rather than at the expense of the wages of efficient employees.

The success of the labor system of the John B. Stetson Company is a difficult matter to put in definite terms, but the superficial evidences can be pointed out. The industrial progress of the company shows that the system pays in a financial way, while the prosperity and happiness of the employees, the freedom in the entire history of the business from any serious disagreement are evidences of the general satisfaction of the employees with the system.

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PRESENT DAY JOBBING

The purpose of this paper is a discussion of the jobbing business of the United States and some of its associated problems. Necessarily so many lines of trade are included, comprising food-stuffs, utensils, apparel, and mechanical supplies, covering so vast a field that it becomes impossible to fully present or even to do justice to the subject. But the methods and position of this class of distributors of manufactured products are on the whole the same and it therefore matters little that the subject is treated from the standpoint of a single one of these, a hardware jobber.

As commonly practiced, the process of distribution is threefold, comprising the activities of the manufacturer, jobber, and retailer. The manufacturer makes the goods from raw material and sells them in large quantities to the jobber, who in turn distributes in smaller lots, and oftentimes on easier terms, to the retailer. There are exceptions to this, but as a rule the manufacturer does not reach the retailer, much less the consumer, directly, and cannot do so to advantage. The jobber is an intermediary who assembles various lines of goods, carries a large and assorted stock, and by means of traveling salesmen and other agencies, sells these goods to the retailer in small assorted lots, while the retailer supplies the consumer.

The jobber stands in a very important position to the manufacturer, in that he purchases goods in large quantities. For many things, the demand is seasonal and must be supplied in quantities at one time. Economical manufacture demands a regular, even output, and most manufacturers lack both the capital and the facilities for storing their output against a heavy and brief demand coming at long intervals. The jobbers unite in taking this output off the manufacturer's hands, storing and paying for it, so that the manufacturer is provided with current funds instead of being forced to borrow large sums against the ultimate sale of an accumulating stock. In but very few lines is it practical for the manufacturer to reach the retailer or the consumer direct. The jobber keeps a varied stock, which is constantly growing more and more diversified and complex, and justifies his existence by selling these goods in assorted lots on a small margin of profit to the retailer, on terms

which are favorable to the small dealer, and oftentimes carries him through dull seasons, and aids in the development of his business.

The jobber distributes these great stocks of goods by means of extensive stores and warehouses, a large corps of traveling salesmen, and an office force well equipped with buyers, bookkeepers and correspondents.

The jobber, as he is known to-day, is a modern product, having existed only since the introduction of the factory system. When goods were almost entirely made by hand, the artisan was usually his own retailer, and not only did the manufacturing but sold his wares directly to the consumer. A large proportion of all the articles made two hundred years ago were made to order only. Of course there were exceptions, as in the case of imported goods. The old caravan routes crossing Asia and Europe are a proof of this fact, but the total sales made in this way were trifling compared with the dimensions of trade to-day. The local artisan knew his customer, but with the advent of the manufacturer, production became so great that manufacturers soon lost sight of the consumer. They now made the goods in quantities and sought some one to distribute them. This distributor was found in the jobber.

Fifty years ago the jobbing business in this country was controlled by four Eastern cities, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. Here a few large jobbers won national prominence as "merchant princes," although the aggregate of their business was probably small compared with the jobbers of to-day; but during the last thirty or forty years, large jobbing houses have grown up not only in cities like Chicago, San Francisco, St. Paul and St. Louis, but also in many smaller towns, until we now find it to be a frequent ambition of retailers to class themselves as jobbers, and handle the wholesale business in their own neighborhood. This ramification of the jobbing business is having its effect on the larger jobbers. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and St. Louis no longer have a monopoly of the jobbing business, although these large cities are not easily deprived of the advantages to which they are naturally entitled by their size.

There can be little doubt that an ambition to do a larger business is oftentimes the prime motive in the development of a retailer into a jobber, and the retailer engaged in this struggle is too apt to rely upon his retail business for his profit, and to consider his jobbing

business as simply so much gain. This is a mistaken view. It often causes much harder work with little or no result, and the small dealer making this venture is very apt to become financially embarrassed in an attempt to carry his smaller customers, while the necessity for buying in large lots, in order to rank as a jobber, and to obtain lower prices from the manufacturers, constantly induces him to over-buy.

The main reliance of the jobber in placing his goods upon the shelves of the retailer is upon traveling salesmen, who take samples of the wares with them and go all over the land, into the smallest hamlet, describing the goods, their origin, their peculiar qualities for sale and for use, and aiding the shopkeeper in estimating the quantity which he will be able to use during that season. The retail trade of this country owes a vast debt to the traveling salesman, for the knowledge given regarding the goods which they handle, the explanation of business customs and training received in business methods and ideas. The traveling salesman is the local representative of the jobber, and if the jobber prides himself, as many do, upon business-like habits, and practical and correct methods, salesmen cannot fail to impart some of these ideas to the dealer. The retailer is constantly growing more intelligent, partly because of his pertinent inquiries from traveling salesmen about the credit and the amount of fire insurance he carries. Such questions bring home to the retailer the necessity of adopting correct business habits.

It may be asked: "Is not the jobber a costly distributing agency?" and it must be conceded that this service is not obtained without expense, but the jobber works on a close margin and the net returns to him are meagre compared with those of the manufacturer and retailer, who both enjoy far greater percentage of profits, while the annual increase in wealth and growth of manufacturers far exceeds that of jobbers. Owing to the severity of competition jobbers are compelled to cut their expenses down to the lowest possible figure, and it is hard to see how goods could reach the retailers in any other way. Under the jobbing system the manufacturer is relieved of the responsibility and immense and often prohibitive cost of introducing and distributing his goods in small amounts. In this age of specialization the jobber is a specialist in marketing goods and makes it his lifelong study to do this economically and to the best advantage.

Is the relation of jobber to manufacturer and retailer to con-

tinue? In order to consider his position more intelligently let us look more closely into the jobber's functions.

1. As a rule, a manufacturer makes a single line of goods and, by reason of his concentration, is able to manufacture cheaply and to the best advantage, but the cost of selling these single lines to the retailer would be so great as to make such a course prohibitive. Some interesting analyses have been made showing the number of various manufactures included in a single bill purchased from a jobber. One frequently sees such charges amounting perhaps to 200 pounds in weight and \$25 in value and yet representing fifteen or twenty manufacturers, clearly showing the enormous cost which would be incurred if the fifteen or twenty manufacturers attempted to sell their goods directly to the retailer, while the freight and express charges on small quantities would alone make such direct dealing impossible.

2. While one or two manufacturers have attempted to make a general line comprising most of the articles needed in one jobbing line, there is no manufacturer to-day who can make a sufficiently varied output to supply all a jobber's needs, and, as we know, the tendency of modern manufacturing is more and more towards the manufacture of a single line of goods—in some cases of a single quality.

3. Frequently, manufacturers do not have sufficient capital to enable them to dispose of their goods in small lots to the retailer. They must have funds, and, by selling in large lots to the jobber, who usually takes the goods in advance of the season and discounts his purchases, they are able to do business on a smaller amount of capital.

4. The business qualities which go to make up the manufacturer and the jobber are oftentimes very different. There are frequent cases where manufacturers are capable makers of goods but not successful in marketing them.

5. The jobber insures the manufacturer a more certain market. We have known large manufacturers, who have had on their books only fifteen or twenty customers, all of whom were large jobbers, while these same jobbers, probably had in many cases three or four thousand retail accounts on their individual ledgers. The manufacturer, therefore, practically knows where he can dispose of his output, and is enabled to do business with greater certainty. In

view of all these conditions, it may well be claimed that the jobber is a most useful and economical factor in distribution. It is not fair to part from this subject without mentioning a development of the last few years, which necessitates viewing jobbing from another standpoint. This is the growth of the so-called catalogue houses. These may be divided into two classes :

a. Catalogue jobbers who, like the jobber, sell to the retailer only.

b. Catalogue retailers who ignore the retailer, and sell directly to the consumer.

Both use the same general methods in trying to buy directly from manufacturers and in sending out large net price catalogues in which they endeavor to outbid all others in making low and attractive prices. This business has had a remarkable expansion, particularly in the West, but side by side has gone the development and increase of the jobbing business. This raises the question of the efficiency of the catalogue as compared with the traveling salesman. There is no doubt that the usual preference of the retailer would be to buy goods from the traveling salesman. Catalogue or no catalogue, moreover, the salesman on the spot will get the order if he meets the price. The jobber has a great advantage through his salesmen over a firm selling by catalogue. He is kept more constantly apprised of local conditions, and so in much closer association with his customers.

Jobbers have always shown themselves ready to adapt new methods and customs. Only lately automobiles have been called in their service. Traveling salesmen may now be found going through the country in automobiles, independent of railroads, time-tables, and annoying waits at railway stations. It is safe to say the jobbers will not allow themselves to be set aside, and including in their class many of the keenest minds in business, they will not be slow to adopt promptly such methods as may be needed to maintain their position. Traveling salesmen were unknown some forty years ago. If the retailer prefers to buy by mail from catalogues, jobbers will no doubt be as ready to dispense with traveling salesmen as they were to take them on forty years ago.

While the catalogue retailer is not specifically included in our discussion his effect on trade relations warrants a few words. The catalogue retailer is an even later evolution than the catalogue jobber.

Several large houses now aim to ignore the local retailer entirely, and sell directly to the consumer. The methods of these houses may fairly be regarded as questionable. The local retailer is naturally more or less prominently identified with local interests, and the merchants of any country town are the pushing and progressive men of the place. They pay local taxes, thereby helping to support the town and county in which they live. They carry their customers, particularly in farming communities and in the South, for long periods. In times of crop failure, or even in good years between crops, the local retailer is oftentimes the main dependence of the farmer, who, without the credit given him by the retailer, would be unable to get the necessities of life. The retailer falls back upon the jobber for similar support in credit, but the benefits conferred by the local retailer in this way are hardly sufficiently appreciated. Too often, the temptation of an apparently low price will cause a consumer living in the country or some small town to send his cash to a catalogue retailer in some large city, while the same day he may go to his local retailer and ask three to six months' credit on something that he is buying from him. One such house, for example, issues a catalogue saying in large type to the consumer: "This gives you the prices your dealer pays for the goods he buys and will prevent him from overcharging you on any goods you buy from him." This is simply a dog-in-the-manger business, entirely ignoring the principle of "live and let live." The moral propriety of such a policy is certainly doubtful.

Apart, however, from the ethics of the case, there are many disadvantages of dealing altogether by mail, as the average consumer wishes to see and handle goods before he buys them. This feeling is so strong that it seems to insure the permanency of the local dealer, and yet if he is to remain, the consumer must realize that he owes a duty to his retailer, and that it is not fair or right to send his money to a catalogue house at a distance, while he compels his local retailer to wait for his money until he sells his cherries in the spring or his corn in the fall. If the local dealer is to remain, how can his wants be supplied except by the jobber?

Jobbing ethics, on the whole, are most creditable. All first-class jobbers to-day act on the principle that they are in business to stay. Many can boast a history of from fifty to one hundred years, and no jobber can expect a continued existence unless he prac-

tices honorable methods, thereby winning and retaining the respect and confidence of the trade. The inducements the jobber has to offer to-day are those of location, size and variety of stock, prompt shipment, courteous attention, fair treatment and low prices, and much attention is paid by all progressive houses to the improvement of these advantages.

As for the traveling salesman himself, it may be said there has been a decided development in his character and habits. The old-style traveler, who was always associated with late hours and whose disposition was to treat his customers to liquor, is largely passing away. A certain mayor of Philadelphia in an attempt to abolish music gardens gained notoriety by his remark, "Beer and music won't mix." The general consensus of opinion in the jobbing trade is that liquor and business will not mix, and the successful salesman of to-day must not only be a man of reliable judgment, bright and enterprising, but he must also have clean habits and a good character.

Recent years have shown in some lines of business the tendency of jobbers to come together in jobbing associations, and this is in line with the general trend of industrial affairs. These jobbing associations, as a rule, do not partake of the nature of a trust, and are a menace neither to the retailer nor to the consumer. An evil factor in competition has been personal feeling, and jobbers, frequently in the same city, have oftentimes sacrificed profits simply because, not coming in contact with fellow-jobbers, they have taken for granted that their competitors were not worthy of acquaintance, and simply fit subjects for commercial war. Jobbing associations have done much to remove this personal feeling. The mere fact that the members meet occasionally, and perhaps once or twice a year sit down together to dinner, goes far toward breaking up this feeling of personal animosity which is far too costly to be carried into modern business. It is rarely that such associations attempt to regulate prices, but by free interchange of information, they prevent the spread of unfounded reports, and working together are able to take up such matters as freight charges, postal and express rates, and trade abuses; while some associations have deliberately pursued a policy of educating their own weaker members into proper business habits.

These associations also stand in important relation to the

manufacturers, and have frequently been able to induce them to adopt better methods in the disposal of their goods. The associations have taken the view that jobbers are the natural outlet for the manufacturer, who should regard the jobber as his selling agent, and not his enemy, and that their interests are joint and often identical. Manufacturers have in many cases readily responded to this liberal idea, and an element of harmony has thus been brought into their relations. In all such matters, jobbing associations have been highly useful, while in these days of mammoth corporations and trusts, they have often been able to command a hearing where the individual jobber would have been ignored.

Such, then, is a brief account of the jobber as he appears to-day. He is the outgrowth of modern business conditions, and well equipped to distribute cheaply and to the best advantage, the vast volume of goods daily outpoured by manufacturers who find it impracticable to market their goods directly. There seems to be no other channel through which the retailers can be so economically and advantageously supplied with a sufficient assortment of goods in all their variety of sizes and styles. No other agency offers to carry the retailer financially through dull seasons and times of stress, and without the jobber, manufacturers would often find it impossible to obtain proper representation to the retailers. The jobber has won his position by hard, intelligent work and economical service, and is apparently an indispensable agent in the distribution of goods.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF COST-KEEPING TO THE MANUFACTURER

Shop economics is a subject which has, of recent years, received a great amount of attention from various writers. All of the important engineering and technical journals are devoting many of their pages to the discussion of this important subject. It has been discussed with more or less ability, in all its phases and details.

In order that the manufacturer may secure maximum production at a minimum expense, it is absolutely essential for him to know what his product is costing him. Not only is it essential to know the gross *cost*, but he must also know the cost at each stage of production. The three important divisions of the cost of any manufactured article are: Labor, material and general expense. The simple record of time and wages, in the pay-roll book, might appear to be sufficient as far as labor is concerned. If the subject be carefully analyzed, however, two very important subdivisions of labor will be found, namely: Productive and non-productive. Productive labor is the labor expended in actually producing something. Non-productive labor is the labor which is not directly chargeable to some specific factory or production order. Each of the above elements of labor can be analyzed into other elements of importance.

To a person unfamiliar with the subject, a cost sheet might be looked upon as something valuable merely as a means of determining or fixing a selling price for a given product. While this is, of course, one of its functions, the general information it places in the hands of the manager is of no less importance. In the analysis of time and wages the cost account should so record all the factory expenditures as to enable the manager to be always ready to place his finger upon any unusual, or seemingly exorbitant, item of cost or expense.

In dividing productive labor, the time and wages should be recorded as follows:

In the first place, it should be charged to its respective factory, or production order, and then to the component of that order on which it was expended. If the mere fixing of a selling price for present and future articles were all that was required, this would be far enough to carry the analysis; but its advantages will be much

greater if the analysis be carried still further. The time expended and wages incurred on each operation should be fully recorded. For instance, if one of the components of an order was a cast spur gear, the operations on this gear would be, in their proper sequence, as follows: Boring, facing hubs, keyseating, and drilling and tapping for set-screws. It is obvious that should the total time for these four simple operations be recorded as a lump sum of time and money, the manager would not be so well able to locate errors as he would if the time and wages were charged against each operation. It is equally apparent that if proper use was made of the information so recorded, as by comparison of different records for the same or similar operation, the manager would be enabled to see where leaks occur, and take steps to reduce subsequent costs, providing better methods or more skilled men could be found.

Besides, the cost reduction that could be accomplished on subsequent orders, it is also possible to hold down cost of operations on running orders whose components contain elements of time greater than those enumerated above. To accomplish this, it is absolutely necessary that all time and wages be entered in their proper places not later than the morning of the day following their expenditure. All of this demands hearty co-operation between the shop manager and the cost-keeper. The cost-keeper finds and points out the high cost, and the manager locates the cause and applies the remedy.

Turning now to the consideration of cost-keeping for non-productive labor, this must be subdivided into the various charges of expense, namely: Superintendence, foremanship, clerk hire, repairs, maintenance, power, heat, lighting, etc. This work of subdivision may be carried out to any degree of refinement desired. The finer these elements are subdivided the easier it will be for the manager to correct errors and reduce costs.

The consideration of these two important divisions of labor has thus far been in connection with the whole plant. In an establishment where but one manufacturing department exists, or one class of work is performed, this is sufficient, but, as most manufacturing consists of several separate and distinct classes of work, it is necessary to analyze still further.

Take, for example, a plant where it is necessary to maintain the following departments: Smith shop, machine shop and pattern shop. By careful thought, one can readily reason that the burden

of expense will be much greater in some of these than in others. For instance, take the smith shop with its equipment of steam hammers, forges, furnaces, formers, dies and miscellaneous small tools. These, while low in first cost as compared with the expensive equipment of the machine shop are relatively high in the cost of maintenance, due to rapid depreciation by reason of the severe duty to which they are subjected.

By such a line of thought it is easy to decide that it is important to fix, by a proper system of accounting, the relations between "productive" and "non-productive labor" of each department. Without such a division, it would be impossible to tell whether or not all of the departments were paying investments. The business, as a whole, might show a profit, but if such an analysis were made, some startling conditions might appear. The smith shop might show up in such a manner as to prove, conclusively, that it were better to abandon it altogether and buy the forgings, or to make further investment in equipment and management to cheapen production.

To describe the forms and methods necessary to accomplish this accounting for labor, would require more space than the writer has at his disposal. Briefly, a time card must be made for each operation a workman may perform on a component. This time card should bear the date, workman's name, number or name of machine, production order number, name or symbol of component, number or name of operation, number of pieces finished, time of starting, time of finishing, elapsed time, rate per hour, and total wages. These cards should be posted on the cost sheets not later than the day following the work.

Next in importance to the accounting for money expended upon labor, is the accounting for that expended upon materials, raw and finished. When considering the subject of cost-keeping, it is necessary to include all the divisions of shop accounting. This is true because it is in this department that the results of all accounting find their final use, and it is from here that the utility of all is made apparent. The keeper of rough and finished stores must make his final returns to the cost department, and then, in turn, they are charged to the order or item to which they belong. All material spoiled when received, or in handling in process of manufacture, must be properly accounted for, and finally charged where it truly belongs.

There are many manufacturing plants that are, to a casual observer, run on very improved methods, and which, while they are probably paying dividends, could very materially increase these dividends by simply keeping the floors clear of bolts and such other small items of stock as become buried in the accumulated litter, and which finally find their way to the scrap heap when the great day of house cleaning comes around. The value of a careful and correct system of stock accounting, and clean floors, was recently illustrated by the president of one of Philadelphia's important industrial establishments. He asked the following questions of one of the foremen who had allowed the floors of his department to become covered with bolts and similar small articles of stock. His questions were: "Have you ever visited the United States Mint?" The foreman's reply was: "Yes!" "Well, then," said the employer, "did you see any pennies, nickels, or dimes lying about the floor?" "No, sir," answered the foreman. The employer then asked, "Do not these bolts, etc., represent pennies and dimes, and should they not be placed where they can be made to show their value and become an asset to the company instead of just so much rubbish?" There is but one answer, for every cent expended in a manufacturing establishment for anything that is not at all times available as an asset, or properly accounted for, becomes just so much of a reduction to the profits of the business. In addition to this, the bad effect of such a system of slovenly management is very far-reaching in its influences on the employees.

In a certain large plant, where a pressed steel product is manufactured, the care taken to account for the scraps of steel is most impressive to any one interested in cost-keeping. At these works every pound of steel is followed with its own dead, or flat, cost price until it finds its way into the finished product. By this means all steel is charged against the product into which it enters, at exactly the pound price paid for it from the mill. In addition to this each order is charged with exactly the amount of scrap made necessary to produce it, and in this way the cost of the product is as near correct as it is possible to make it, so far as the material side is concerned. The scrap is treated as a by-product, and, when sold, it is credited to manufacture. No investigation of the method of accounting for the time was made, but I believe it fair to assume that it is equally as well taken care of as the material, inasmuch as the general

manager stated that he had recently compared the shop accounting with the commercial accounting for a period of six months, and had found them to balance within \$98. This is certainly excellent when one considers that the business for these six months had amounted to many thousands of dollars. This result is even more astounding when one realizes that but four clerks were employed on cost work, one of these being the cost-keeper himself.

In considering the accounting for material in connection with any cost system, it would be well to keep the above illustration in mind, as it is, in the writer's judgment, about as near perfection as it is possible to reach.

When considering the subject of general expense, it is to be recommended that each article manufactured should bear its proportionate amount of this expense. This general expense should be divided into expense of administration, fixed charges, and general shop supplies. It is desirable, as a subdivision of the fixed charge cost account, to keep a machine cost sheet, and in this way make each article carry very closely its proper amount of general expense.

In order to consider the reasons for this, it is necessary to examine the other method of distributing this expense over the costs, namely: the fixing (by deductions from figures previously compiled) a percentage of the total productive wage bill which will cover the total non-productive labor and general expense.

After this percentage has been decided upon all productive labor is made to bear this percentage, and in that way the amount is charged up to the cost of each piece.

Example:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 2 \text{ Hours @ } 30c. & = & .60 = \text{dead cost} \\ 50\% & = & .30 = \text{general expense, etc.} \\ \hline & & .90 \text{ Mf'd cost.} \end{array}$$

Let us now suppose that the above two hours were turned in by a man working on a four thousand dollar (\$4,000) boring mill. This mill, in addition to the first cost, would require considerable time and money expended for maintenance and a valuable collection of small tools and accessories, together with power used and floor space occupied. All that would be charged to this work would be thirty cents (30c.) to cover the above.

The other extreme to this would be a man working on floor work with a hammer and chisel. He, too, works two hours, rate also thirty cents per hour. The cost of his work would be figured as follows:

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 2 \text{ Hours @ } 30c. & = & .60 = \text{dead cost} \\
 50\% & = & .30 = \text{general expense, etc.} \\
 \hline
 & & .90 \text{ Mf'd cost.}
 \end{array}$$

Here again we have thirty cents (30c.) charged to cover the general expense, depreciation, etc. In one case the man using an equipment representing a large investment, and in the other, one that costs but very little. It is obvious that such a method will make the costs much too low in one case and much too high in the other. The safer and better way is to fix an hourly rate to cover each machine in the shop and then finally a percentage to cover that expense which is not directly chargeable to the machines, and add this percentage to all labor, whether hand or machine. In this way the general expense will be properly placed against the work to which it belongs.

There are many cases where too much detail is gone into and too much system applied; and in them the ability of the manager will be first apparent. He will know just how much refinement his business requires, and, finally, after he gets it, he will know how to apply it to an advantage. Why should a manager waste his time running about the plant looking up trifling details, making himself—and in the majority of cases the people who are paying him a large salary—believe that he is a much overworked man, and finally end in having an assistant to help him in this never-ending search for information, which, even if they find it, will never be put in proper form to be of future use. By this line of argument, it is not purposed to advise, or even hint, that a manager should not give his attention to details, but, on the contrary, to say *most emphatically*, that he should have a system of correct forms and a trained force of clerks to collect this data, and day in and day out, present to him, in their proper sequence, the facts relative to these details of his business, so that he may make his comparisons and thereby cheapen his production, hold down the running expenses of his business, and readjust his employees' wages.

The readjustment of wages is a very important detail in connection with any business. A capitalist does not invest his money in a miscellaneous lot of securities and enterprises and then, because on the whole he makes money, lose sight of them individually. He keeps his eye on each one, and knows exactly whether this one pays, or that one does not pay. When he finds one that does not pay, he rids himself of it as soon as convenient and with as little loss as possible. A number of employees paid wages for performing certain duties are just so many investments of capital, and they should be accounted for just as carefully as stocks, bonds and like securities. A manager cannot adjust wages with judicial fairness if he has not always before him a personal account with each man employed, and he cannot have this record unless he has a complete system of cost accounting. He will never accomplish this, as so many hope to do, by simply making trips through the shop or factory and making an observation of first this or that man, and saying to himself, "Well, 'Smart' is certainly a first-class man, but 'Steady' is only fair." Take such an observation, for example, as to the fairness of this style of keeping a record of individual workmen. "Smart" is the man who is always on the lookout for the "Boss," and can generally be relied upon to tell you correctly, if you are on the hunt for that individual, where to find him, or at least the direction in which he was traveling five minutes ago. He always knows whether the "Boss" is where he can see him, and whether he is observing what he, "Smart," is doing. What is the result? Whenever the "Boss" is looking, "Smart" puts on an extra spurt, makes a great pretence of fast work and close application to duty, and keeps this up just as long as he is being observed; but as soon as the "Boss" turns his eyes, or has passed out of observing distance, "Smart" puts just as much energy into figuring out where and when he is likely to turn up again. In consequence his day's work is made up of a few spurts, and a tremendous amount of energy expended in figuring out how to fool the "Boss."

What about "Steady"? He is working right beside "Smart," but he is attending assiduously to his work and minding his own business, and doesn't even know that he is being observed. There is no apparent rush or hustle about his work, and none of the seeming speed or vim that we have noticed in "Smart," at this particular moment, and he must naturally appear at a decided disadvantage

beside his shopmate "Smart." The result of the observation, in the mind of the "Boss," then is, as described above, that "Smart," is a first-class man, and "Steady" is only a fair one. When the day for raising wages comes around—and such managers generally have a certain time for raising wages—"Smart's" pay is increased and "Steady" is left at the same old rate, and after a sufficient number of observations, he is probably dropped altogether, and the manager proceeds to look for another "Smart." It is evident that such a method of judging the value of men is very unjust and very detrimental to the business. Should a manager persist in weeding out his men, on this basis, he will finally wind up by having a shopful of what may be termed "professional loafers," to whom he is paying high wages because they deceive him.

A correct system of cost accounting will present to the manager a daily, a weekly, or monthly statement of the work done by each employee, in such form as to enable him to make comparisons and deduce the facts relating to any particular individual. It is surely evident that such a method of judging men is infinitely more just, safe, and effective than the one previously described.

Having examined the two methods of considering a workman's value on the basis of the use he makes of the time for which he receives pay, let us now consider how best to trace and account for the equipment, small tools, accessories, and material that are sure to be in his care during his term of service. It is important that the manager account for every dollar invested, either in plant or material. This cannot be accomplished by a system of journeys of observation through the plant, any more than he can account for the workman's time by such a system. He must have a system of standards in his tool room and shop, and must maintain this system of standards by locating, at all times, any violation thereof. By this I mean, that he must have a predetermined stock of small tools in his tool room and these small tools ground to correct angles and shapes. When one of these tools is injured, either as to angle or shape, or perhaps broken, this system should tell him, beyond a question of doubt, who is at fault, and the cause for such damage. Without a thorough system of accounting, the system of standards will soon be destroyed.

This has been called "The age of intensified production," and this is surely true, for, no matter where you go, you will find manufacturers making heroic efforts to keep up with the tremendous

pace set by some more energetic and systematic competitor. This being true, it is evident that he must, of necessity, keep a very close track of all the small details of his business.

A few years ago a machinist would be fined for wearing out a tool. To-day the wise manager pays the man a premium for wearing it out—with the proviso, of course, that he accomplishes the work that the tool is capable of performing. Take, for instance, a lot of small sprocket wheels which have to be drilled. By careful analysis it is found that it will pay to run the drills so fast that each drill press will completely use up one drill in a day of nine hours, in spite of the fact that twice as many holes could have been drilled by each drill used at two-thirds this speed. This could not have been determined except by a correct system of cost accounting.

A few years ago the machine-shop manager paid seven cents per pound for his tool steel, and nursed both machine and tool. To-day he pays seventy cents per pound for tool steel, and drives both to the limit of their endurance. It would not be possible to determine such a great problem of shop economics by any loose system of accounting. He must know exactly what all this extra expenditure of money and energy is bringing him in return, in order to ascertain whether he is being repaid for his trouble and expense.

Going back again to tools: In the days of seven-cent tool steel, an ordinary round nose roughing tool cost forty-five cents up to a dollar and twenty-five cents, according to the section and length of the tool. To-day, when paying seventy cents for tool steel, the same style of tool costs, with its special treatment, from three dollars and seventy-five cents up to as much as, in some cases, ten dollars. It is apparent that the manager should know just what each of these tools is doing, and what becomes of them. This can only be accomplished by a proper check system in the tool room, and this check system must, in turn, be rigidly enforced. This check system should be of such a nature that it will fix the location of any tool, and the length of time it has been so located. What is true of the cutting tool is also true of all the other small tools, and likewise true of the equipment. The system must record the cost of material as well as the labor entering into the various items of expense.

In an establishment paying its employees by any of the various piece-work plans, it is to the cost department that the manager will

turn for information upon which to base his rates. In many establishments operating under a piece-work system, the cost-keeper is the man who fixes the rates. In all well-regulated plants he is the person who records all such transactions with the men, and sees to it that the workman receives his pay when the contract is completed. He not only records piece-work time and wages, but has direct supervision of all time-keeping and payment of wages.

Mr. Frederic W. Taylor, the pioneer and foremost inventor of advanced systems of shop management has, in his plan of functional foremanship, considered the cost-keeper of such importance that he has made him one of his functional foremen. He has given him direct charge of the men, and made them directly responsible for all matters pertaining to time and cost. This leads to another line of thought. If a manufacturer decides to install a system of cost and factory accounting, and places a man in charge of the same, the cost-keeper will proceed to collect data and information, but he will be unable to make this data of any real value unless he is given the proper amount of authority to apply the facts so ascertained. No one can ever accomplish any real good if he is compelled to apologize to some one, at every turn, for having exceeded his authority. He must, of course, have respect for vested authority wherever he finds it, but he must also have sufficient authority vested in him to enable him to accomplish the desired end. If this is not the case, he would be very much in the position of a jockey who might be placed astride of a race horse and told to win the race, but on no account to use whip or spur. His only means would be gentle persuasion, and when the pace became hot he would fall behind, finish in the rear, or, perhaps be distanced altogether.

To sum up all this, the cost-accounting department must record all information relative to time and material, so as to be a means toward the end of reducing costs and expenses, and then, after such records are made, to assist in their application toward that end. The qualifications of the head of such a department have been well stated in the following quotation from Mr. Gunn's article on "Cost-Keeping; a Subject of Fundamental Importance":

"Cost-finding is not merely the work of an accountant, no matter how competent he may be. It is the work of an engineer, supplemented by the best accounting knowledge he can command. The engineer, in turn, must be possessed of an executive faculty

to such a high degree that he shall be able to create and administer an organization which not only finds but shall continue to find costs. Having found costs, this executive must be possessed of a sufficiently broad knowledge of that portion of the industrial world to which he is related, to be able to use the information which he has, and to preserve such an organization as will insure facts for each succeeding month or year being presented in like manner with those first compiled, so that he may receive the full benefit of comparison. For costs have no value except in comparison, that action may be directed by experience."

CONRAD N. LAUER.

Philadelphia.

ADVERTISING

Advertising is a means of extending the field of one's business operations beyond their otherwise prescribed limits. Trade, like natural forces, travels along the lines of least resistance. It is almost an axiom that the line of least resistance is mutual confidence and respect.

For an article to be successfully advertised, the first question is: Do people need it? Does it respond to some already expressed or dormant demand? Above all, the fundamental requirement—the basis of all confidence—is that the advertised article or service should be good. A high degree of success, a permanent hold upon the public interest, is not possible without this. The flaw in the article becomes recognized as quickly as a weed that springs from apparently good seed. Good advertising—no more than good soil—can continue to hide the real character of a poor article.

Starting with a good article that inspires confidence, the next question for the advertiser to settle is: Is this an opportune time and what is the right place to advertise? For the advertiser, this involves the question of mediums and localities, and the answer is dependent upon experience and knowledge. It is not enough to place advertisements and await results. They must be carefully and systematically followed up,—each inquiry turned into results. Public confidence can only be won by honest, truthful and effective statements. Whatever the amount of money spent, its power is greatly increased by advertising of this reasonable and substantial character. This is instanced by a remark of a late president of the Royal Baking Powder Company: "It took \$15,000,000 to put this business where it is, and it will take *at least* \$15,000,000 to tear it down." Notice the emphasis upon *at least*. It shows the strength which reputation gives and the incalculable value of securing a hold on public confidence.

Some of the specific advantages of advertising to the business man are: the *opportunity to enlarge his field of operations*, the *ability to maintain prices*, the *obtaining of an assured custom*, and the *simplification of business*.

Advertising is to the field of distribution what the railroad is to transportation. With the ox and wagon, the horse and the sailboat, goods could only be carried a short distance, but the rail-

road or the steamboat makes the fruit of California a familiar article of purchase in New York, or the American locomotive a valuable adjunct to trans-Siberian service. The public crier arouses the interest of but few people, the salesman is limited in the space he can cover, but printed words in circulars, magazines and newspapers can be scattered broadcast over the country, telling the resident of a ranch in Arizona or a sheep farm in Australia of articles manufactured in London or New York. The large department stores attract the casual passer-by by their handsomely trimmed windows, but their extensive business is due to the use of all other legitimate means of advertising. Over a hundred years ago a physician made a prescription for a soap to be used in washing wounds. To-day, as the result of advertising, Pears' soap is better known than England herself. Intelligent sales agents in Japan, China and the United States make every effort to familiarize the people with its value; and the advertising of the soap has made it a world-power in the soap-business.

The possible boundaries for the extension of business by advertising is the world. The stimulus to inventors must be increased by the knowledge that their labor-saving devices and comforts cannot only be made to benefit a large portion of humanity, but that their own rewards can be immediate and great.

Advertising helps to secure the highest prices. Every man who invents something or manufactures an article out of good materials should have the reward of his service. Moreover, the public like to know their money is going for the real thing. There is a class of people who secure business on price alone. We call them "pirates," or rather "parasites," who live on the product of other people's brains—the demand created by others. They make no contribution to the welfare of society. Their tendency is to degrade rather than to elevate, to destroy rather than to create. For example, Scott's Emulsion, which is recognized by physicians as an excellent article, and which, after a large expenditure of money, has secured recognition, is now widely imitated. These imitations are offered to the druggist as being "as good as Scott's," and allowing a wider margin of profit. The only way in which the original makers of the cod liver oil have prevented the substitution of an inferior article selling at a lower price, is by advertising and creating such a demand for the original article that the druggist must recognize it. Extensive advertising

results in standardizing an article. People become familiar with its special features and they are willing to pay for them.

Another advantage of advertising is assured business. By creating a large demand, a manufacturer can have the satisfaction of feeling that there is no danger of his mills standing idle. More than that, when one factory becomes crowded with orders and is working day and night, he feels justified in extending his business, and building a new factory, but he still keeps on advertising, knowing that, in this way, can he keep up a steady and constant demand, and assure himself of sufficient business. I know of one concern which six or seven years ago was hardly known; but now, thanks to advertising, it is a leading concern doing a business of probably \$6,000,000 a year. I also know of an automobile company that is spending \$50,000 this season in advertising, although it has every machine sold that it can turn out before the first of August. It is advertising so that it can extend its plant; for next year will probably be the great year in the business; and it wishes its automobiles to be recognized as standard goods.

Finally advertising simplifies business. The most primitive way of doing business is the most complicated. A man invents a broom with a patent spring that enables it to take hold of the carpet with less strain upon the person who sweeps. He makes this broom with his own hands, takes it about and shows it to housekeepers, obtains and fills orders, collects the money and keeps his own books when credit is allowed. In other words, he does everything himself. Now suppose his business grows, he has more than he can attend to and he employs others to do these various things. Each by limiting himself to one thing, does it better and cheaper than the broom-maker himself. By advertising he creates a demand for his broom, and he is enabled to systematize his buying, selling and office work, so that every department is reduced to the simplest form. His own work consists in merely criticizing, inspiring and improving the work of others. A large business is enabled to specialize, and to purchase and use all the best business devices.

Another method of simplifying business is to concentrate upon one or a few articles. I recently visited a factory in which some twenty kinds of underwear were manufactured. This manufacturer's latest article was his best seller, running far ahead of other goods. I suggested that he could put his whole factory upon this one kind.

Thirty thousand or forty thousand dollars' worth of advertising each year would in a few years give him such a business that he would have no room for other goods. The American people want just this article for which he has the patent. He will thus simplify his business, make more money and make several millions of people more comfortable.

The very features of advertising which make it of value to the business man, also benefit the community. In the first place, advertising educates people in a knowledge of standards of quality and cost. They become more appreciative of a good thing, especially of such goods as never deteriorate in quality. They learn to vary their purchases, to try new articles and to look for the best. They can, moreover, become independent of the monopoly of their local dealer, not only as to what they should buy, but also in the prices paid for things. This is of special interest in the country districts, where dwellers by reading magazines, newspapers and catalogues can obtain city articles and a wide choice of goods. Take for example the piano player, one of the greatest musical helps that has ever come to the world. It brings to the remotest home the world's great musical compositions and gives to those who are deprived of the opportunity of hearing concerts and players an opportunity to hear good music well played. Where people have the necessary musical appreciation, these piano players are a tremendous addition to the breadth and scope of every-day living. Advertising benefits society by bringing the extremes of the country together, making all more cosmopolitan, and permitting all to enjoy the same luxuries and comforts.

I have already suggested that an advertiser must maintain the quality of his goods, or his money will soon be thrown away and his success will be only short lived. In this way advertisers, by stamping their own makes, have made it possible for people to discriminate between the poor and excellent.

Granting that advertising is a good thing, what is the best way for the business man to advertise? The specializing of advertising as a business is evinced by the growth of large advertising companies and the success of especially gifted men. The necessity of specializing is furthermore made evident by the tendency to have a separate department, with a trained advertiser at its head. In the ordinary business there are exceptional cases in which the owner of

the business is especially gifted with the power of successful advertising, but, as a rule, the advertising is either neglected or inadequately managed. The finding of the advertisable feature in a man's business, or if it does not exist, finding it outside and putting it there, is an art. It is here that the value of the agency exists. Trained advertisers are men who can advertise any business, after a study of its peculiarities. They are familiar with methods and can adjust them to meet specific needs. Moreover, the agency possesses the technical knowledge of mediums, literature, printing, illustration, etc.

The first business of the advertising agency is to give advice. It is necessary to ascertain whether the article or articles are good subjects for advertising, whether the business is so organized that satisfactory results can be obtained, and to determine the amount of money to be expended. Mediums must be decided upon according to the character of the article. The advertising agent visits the plant frequently, obtaining full information from the advertiser and his subordinates: he prepares copy, designs, plates and electrotypes, and sends the different orders to the mediums at the right prices with stipulations as to position, etc. It is his duty to watch closely to see whether the advertisement is properly placed and correctly set. The bill is rendered to him, he checks it, and renders the advertiser a bill for the entire service. This simplifies the work of the advertiser, relieving him from all details. The agency necessarily has all the technical knowledge, involving the value of mediums, their prices, the manner of getting position and copy.

The secret of advertising success, then, is: first, have an article of high order that people really want; then sell it in an agreeable, tactful and honest way; advertise it in the same way.

Whatever a manufacturer can do better than anyone else, and has time to do, let him do it himself, or let it be done immediately under his supervision. Whatever parts of this process he cannot do himself, let him get it done by the person or concern that can do it honestly, capably, and thoroughly.

It is as sure as anything in this world that the man who is manufacturing, selling, and advertising along these lines, and with thoroughness besides, will win for himself and his article a large measure of success, bounded only by the possibilities of time and the commercial area of the world.

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THE DISTRIBUTION OF STOCKHOLDINGS IN AMERICAN RAILWAYS¹

In a study of the distribution of stockholdings in American railways we touch upon a question which, as associated with the fundamental institution of private property, has a most important bearing upon our social, economic and political life. The ownership of property tends, above all, to create a sentiment favoring conservatism. The greater the number of individuals participating in the ownership of property, the greater will be the number interested in promoting the safety and conservatism of property, and the advancement of industry. The effect of the diffused ownership of stockholdings, for example, upon our economic life may be readily observed. Being owners in a great enterprise, the large number of smaller holders are thus prompted by self-interest to view economic questions from the standpoint of an employer. In the industrial struggles between labor and capital, a widely diffused ownership of stock may be of the greatest importance in molding public sentiment with reference to the demands of the contending parties. The holding of a single or a few shares in a large corporation may not only cause the holder to feel a greater interest in the welfare of his particular concern, but may cause him, in a general way, to observe and feel as a member of the employing class. Moreover, a large corporation by widely distributing the ownership of its stocks and bonds, especially if it be among an influential class, will thereby safeguard its interests and privileges through an increased political constituency. Railways, for example, whose stocks and bonds are held by thousands of holders may be expected to exert a powerful influence in the legislatures of their respective states.

These and other considerations point to the conclusion that the economic and social effects, resulting either from a wide diffusion or a high degree of concentration in the ownership of stockholdings, are both numerous and important. Yet, significant as a study of the

¹ The present study is confined to an examination of the distribution of capital stock only, and takes no account of the funded debt. Moreover, the study is based primarily upon the data furnished by the latest available railroad commission reports, and does not consider the readjustments in the capital stock, or changes in the number of stockholders, which have occurred since the issuing of these reports.

distribution of stockholdings in American railways may be in this respect, we find ourselves confronted with all the difficulties which beset the question of the distribution of wealth in general. As Professor Mayo-Smith has remarked: "Almost all statistical analyses of the actual distribution of wealth break down on account of the imperfections of the statistics."² And it is especially in the study of the distribution of railway stock, probably more so than in the case of wealth in general, that we find the materials at our disposal not only very incomplete, but also extremely limited. In fact, reliance had to be placed almost wholly upon individual statements concerning certain particular roads, and upon the statements of the amount of capital stock issued and outstanding, and the total number of stockholders for the various roads at the date of the last election of the directors, as collected under the authority of the railway commissioners of the various states. This latter source, however, is by no means complete. In many states, especially the Southern, with the exception of Alabama, Louisiana, and Virginia, the railway commission reports furnish no information whatever on the subject; and in no case do the reports give the exact distribution of the capital stock among the holders. This absence of conclusive material determines largely the mode of treatment to be followed, and fixes in a general way the limits of the conclusions. The attempt is made, therefore, to present, briefly, the distribution of stockholdings in those few railways where the evidence is direct and conclusive; and to present tables showing respectively those important railways whose stock is owned by a comparatively large number of stockholders, those where concentration is apparent; and, lastly, those important railways whose stock is concentrated in the hands of a few holders. Despite the many defects in the materials, it is believed that a compilation of the data presented in the railway commission reports, if supplemented by such considerations as are necessarily involved in a statistical treatment of this kind, cannot fail to add something to our knowledge of the subject under discussion.

Passing now to an examination of specific railways, we find that the Illinois Central stands out most prominently in the effort to diffuse the ownership of its stock among small holders, especially its employees. According to Mr. Cressey, "No other railroad has adopted a plan to this purpose approaching in extent or liberality

² *Statistics and Economics*, p. 437.

that devised by President Stuyvesant Fish. Other roads, however, have made commendable efforts in this direction, and among these may be mentioned the Chicago Great Western System.³ Of the 6,526 stockholders of the Illinois Central in 1900, 705 were officers and employees of the company, other than directors, and held stock to the amount of 2,554 shares. Three thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight of these stockholders, owning 346,207 shares, were residents of the United States; 2,543, owning 198,616 shares, were residents of Great Britain, and 115, owning 55,125 shares, were residents elsewhere. Excluding one large block of 40,000 shares held by a Dutch syndicate for thirty years, and itself divided among hundreds of holders, the average number of shares per holder is eighty-five and one-half. According to the books of the company there are "5 holdings of 5,000 shares or over; 85 of 1,000 shares or over; 93 of 500 shares or over; 694 of less than 500, but more than 100; 455 of exactly 100 shares each, and 5,194 of less than 100 shares."⁴ Approximately thus 80 per cent of the stockholders own less than one hundred shares each, and the fact is emphasized that it is the 5,194 small stockholders who own by far the majority of the stock.

Equally favorable appears to be the distribution of stock in the Boston and Albany and the Boston and Maine railways. The capital stock of the Boston and Albany, aggregating \$25,000,000, is distributed among 8,434 stockholders. The largest of these stockholders owns but 3,000 shares, while at least 4,645 holders, or 54 per cent of the total number, hold less than ten shares each.⁵ As regards the Boston and Maine Railroad, the annual report for 1899-1900 places the number of shares of that company at 250,345, and the number of stockholders at 7,148. Of this number of stockholders 4,575, residing in Massachusetts, owned 124,030 shares; 1,515, residing in New Hampshire, owned 29,212 shares; 599, residing in Maine, owned 18,349 shares; 459, residing elsewhere, owned 60,678 shares, while 18,076 shares of common stock were owned by the company itself.⁶ From this report it also appears that approximately 7 per cent of the largest stockholders of the company owned 26 per cent of the stock.

³ "Railroad Employees as Shareholders." *Outlook*, 62: 122.

⁴ United States Industrial Commission. Vol. IV, p. 326.

⁵ United States Industrial Commission. Vol. XIX, p. 403.

⁶ Annual Report of the Boston & Maine Railroad. 1899-1900, p. 10.

Another illustration of the wide diffusion of stock ownership in some of our great railways is afforded in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway. This road, the most important of the South-western roads, and the greatest of the "independent systems," has its capital stock of \$233,468,000 distributed among 13,147 stockholders. The two facts according to Mr. Thomas F. Woodlock that distinguish this road from other large Western roads are: (1) "That alone of all transcontinental lines it extends from Chicago to San Francisco," and (2) "That there is no dominant stockholding interest or combination of interests in control of the property. . . . And it is the only large system in the West that nobody in particular owns or specially controls." According to Mr. Woodlock, "the ownership of the Atchison road became thoroughly scattered in the reorganization and afterwards." "I am credibly informed," he writes, "that Messrs. Baring and the interest known as the 'Berwind Pool' are at present the only examples of concentrated ownership in the company, and that all three combined are a relatively small percentage of the whole."

Directing our attention next to an examination of the distribution of the capital stock of railways other than those just considered, reliance had to be placed upon the data furnished by the latest available State Railroad Commission reports, namely those of 1900 and 1901. In the following four tables an attempt has been made to group this data. Table I includes those important railways whose stock is owned by a large number of stockholders. Table II presents those important railways whose number of stockholders is not unusually small, but where concentration in stockholding is apparent. Table III comprises those important railways whose capital stock is owned by a comparatively small number of stockholders, while Table IV shows the distribution of stock in New England railways with a capital stock of \$1,000,000 or over.

TABLE I.

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé | \$233,486,000 | 13,147 |
| Boston & Albany | 25,000,000 | 8,434 |
| Boston & Maine | 26,516,970 | 7,229 |

* The London Economist 59, II, p. 1395.

The Distribution of Stockholdings in American Railways 67

TABLE I.—Continued.

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Chicago Great Western..... | \$68,572,074 | 3,627 |
| Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul | 100,480,200 | 5,786 |
| Chicago & Northwestern | 66,227,320 | 4,260 |
| Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific | 59,088,260 | 2,934 |
| Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis..... | 38,418,307 | 2,197 |
| Delaware & Hudson | 35,000,000 | 3,958 |
| Fitchburg | 24,360,000 | 5,935 |
| Illinois Central | 66,000,000 | 6,526 |
| Lehigh Valley | 40,441,100 | 6,916 |
| Long Island | 12,000,000 | 646 |
| Louisville & Nashville | 55,000,000 | 1,982 |
| Minneapolis & St. Louis | 10,000,000 | 448 |
| New York Central & Hudson River | 115,000,000 | 10,320 |
| New York, New Haven & Hartford | 54,685,400 | 9,560 |
| New York, Ontario & Western | 58,118,982 | 2,056 |
| Old Colony | 16,617,625 | 5,331 |
| Pennsylvania Railroad Company | 204,374,850 | 29,000 |
| Pere Marquette | 28,000,000 | 2,098 |
| Union Pacific | 203,600,000 | 12,450 |

TABLE II.

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Atlantic Coast Line | \$34,280,500 | 874 |
| Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburg | 12,000,000 | 224 |
| Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern | 8,887,380 | 325 |
| Chesapeake & Ohio | 86,000,000 | 1,145 |
| Chicago, Burlington & Quincy | 110,800,000 | 616 |
| Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha | 34,050,126 | 1,019 |
| Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic | 22,000,000 | 350 |
| Great Northern | 123,853,300 | 1,835 |
| Kansas & Colorado Pacific | 25,498,100 | 156 |
| Kansas City, Pittsburg & Gulf | 23,000,000 | 325 |
| Lake Shore & Michigan Southern | 50,000,000 | 708 |
| Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie..... | 21,000,000 | 148 |
| Michigan Central | 18,738,000 | 563 |
| Missouri, Kansas & Texas | 72,569,200 | 1,080 |
| The Missouri Pacific | 76,402,875 | 889 |
| New York, Chicago & St. Louis | 30,000,000 | 677 |
| Norfolk & Western | 89,000,000 | 1,876 |
| Southern Pacific | 197,832,148 | 968 |

TABLE II.—*Continued.*

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| St. Louis & San Francisco | \$50,000,000 | 1,416 |
| St. Louis Southwestern | 36,000,000 | 778 |
| Texas & Pacific | 38,760,110 | 916 |
| Western New York & Pennsylvania | 20,000,000 | 176 |

TABLE III.

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Arkansas & Choctaw Railway | \$15,230,000 | 6 |
| Chicago, St. Louis & New Orleans | 10,000,000 | 22 |
| Cincinnati & Northern | 6,800,000 | 6 |
| Dubuque & Sioux City | 10,999,600 | 31 |
| Eastern Railway Company of Minnesota..... | 16,000,000 | 6 |
| Erie Railroad Company | 176,000,000 | 17 |
| Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley | 36,940,000 | 8 |
| Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis..... | 28,510,000 | 17 |
| Kansas City Southern | 51,000,000 | 15 |
| Northern Pacific | 155,000,000 | 17 |
| Morgan's Louisiana & Texas Railroad and Steam- ship Company | 15,000,000 | 6 |
| Southern Railway Company | 180,000,000 | 13 |
| St. Joseph & Grand Island | 13,598,500 | 9 |
| St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern | 25,795,055 | 32 |
| St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba | 20,000,000 | 69 |
| The New England Railroad Company | 25,000,000 | 51 |
| Wilmar & Sioux Falls | 7,000,000 | 6 |
| Wisconsin Central | 30,000,000 | 12 |
| Yazoo & Mississippi Valley | 6,168,400 | 14 |

New England Railroads

TABLE IV.

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Boston & Lowell | \$6,529,400 | 2,142 |
| Boston & Providence | 4,000,000 | 1,668 |
| Connecticut River Railroad | 2,630,000 | 952 |
| New Haven & Northampton | 2,460,000 | 7 |
| New London Northern | 1,500,000 | 379 |

TABLE IV.—*Continued.*

| NAME OF RAILWAY COMPANY. | Amount of Capital Stock. | Total number of Shareholders. |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Providence & Worcester | \$3,500,000 | 902 |
| Vermont & Massachusetts | 3,193,000 | 1,312 |
| Worcester, Nashua & Rochester | 3,099,800 | 805 |
| Boston & New York Air Line | 3,907,968 | 610 |
| Central New England | 6,600,000 | 277 |
| Hartford & Connecticut Western | 2,712,800 | 641 |
| Naugatuck Railroad Company | 2,000,000 | 463 |
| Norwich & Worcester | 3,006,600 | 941 |
| Atlantic & St. Lawrence | 5,484,000 | 1,647 |
| Concord & Montreal | 7,197,600 | 2,214 |
| Maine Central | 4,975,300 | 824 |
| Manchester & Lawrence | 1,000,000 | 545 |
| Northern Railroad Company | 3,068,400 | 1,179 |
| Bennington & Rutland | 1,000,000 | 8 |
| Newport & Richford | 3,200,000 | 9 |
| Rutland Railroad | 6,719,700 | about 600 |
| St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain | 3,848,500 | 432 |
| Vermont Valley | 1,000,000 | 59 |
| Bangor & Aroostook | 2,178,307 | 24 |
| Grand Trunk Railway | 5,484,000 | 1,630 |
| Portland & Rumford Falls | 1,000,000 | 50 |
| Washington County Railroad Company | 1,999,000 | 27 |

A glance at the foregoing tables reveals a striking contrast between different railways as to the proportion between the amount of their stock and the number of their stockholders. From the evidence submitted for the twenty-two railways included in Table I, aggregating \$1,541,887,088 of capital stock, it appears that railway stock is to a large extent distributed among a great number of holders. Thus the number of stockholders for these twenty-two roads is 144,840, and for the New England railways with a capitalization of \$1,000,000 or over is in excess of 20,000. Upon glancing at Table II, however, we find the number of stockholders comparatively small, and in Table III exceedingly small considering the large capitalization of the roads.

Proceeding to a closer analysis of these tables, we find that the average stockholding for all the roads of Table I amounts to \$10,646 per stockholder. This comparatively low average, however, loses some of its significance when we remember that seven roads,—the

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé; the Union Pacific; Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; Louisville and Nashville; New York, Ontario and Western; Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, and the Chicago Great Western,—aggregating \$779,245,516 of capital stock, or over one-half of the total stock of these twenty-two roads, have an average stockholding of \$18,561 per holder.

In Table II the concentration becomes much more marked. Having a capital stock of \$1,180,871,739, the twenty-two railroads of this table have a total of but 17,064 stockholders, and an average stockholding of \$69,463 per holder. As in Table I, however, this average partially loses its significance, since eight roads,—the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy; the Chesapeake and Ohio; the Great Northern; Kansas and Colorado Pacific; Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste Marie; Missouri Pacific; Southern Pacific, and Western New York and Pennsylvania,—with a total capital stock of \$643,387,023 or over one-half of the total capital stock of these twenty-two roads, have an average stockholding of \$108,442. Moreover, three roads,—the Southern Pacific; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and Kansas and Colorado Pacific,—with capital stock aggregating nearly 30 per cent of the total stock represented in this table, have average stockholdings of \$185,777, \$179,871, and \$163,577 respectively.

If, for the purpose of comparison, we look now at Table III, we note a still greater contrast than exists between the railways of Tables I and II. The nineteen important roads represented here have their aggregate stock of \$829,041,555 distributed among but 357 stockholders, having thus an average holding of \$2,322,245 per holder. Three of the roads, however,—the Erie Railway, the Northern Pacific, and the Southern Railway,—with an aggregate capital stock of \$511,000,000, or five-eighths of the total capital stock represented by this table, have an average stockholding of \$10,872,340 per holder.

It will doubtless be urged with reference to these averages that, owing to the rapid changes in stock ownership, they have value only for the particular year for which they are compiled. In fact there is scarcely any ownership of property more transitory than the ownership of railway stock. In this connection the statistics of the New York Stock Exchange for 1901 may be studied to advantage. In that year the total number of shares sold at the Exchange num-

bered 249,193,674, representing a par value of \$24,254,887,825; and by far the great majority of these stocks constituted railway stocks. Indeed, within the year 1901 the total number of listed shares for some of the leading railways was sold from ten to twenty times over. Thus the Milwaukee-St. Paul stock was sold twenty times over; the Union Pacific stock twenty-one and one-quarter times; Rock Island stock thirteen and one-half times; Wabash preferred stock twelve and one-half times; Atchison stock eleven and seven-eighths times, and Erie stock ten times.*

Such a volume of stock transactions would seem to indicate that the above statistics can have but a temporary value. As a matter of fact, however, when we compile statistics for a considerable number of railways for different periods, we find that the proportion between the amount of stock and the number of holders shows an increase in the average stockholding sufficiently large to indicate that the above tables rather underrate than overestimate the average stockholding in railways at the present time. A few statistics will corroborate this statement. Thus as regards eleven railways of Table I, for which information could be found, the capital stock increased from approximately \$650,834,038 in 1890 to \$942,946,162 in 1900 or 45 per cent; while during the same period the number of stockholders increased from 54,928 to 75,528 or 37 per cent. In other words, the average stockholding for these eleven roads increased from \$11,848 to \$12,486, or over 8 per cent. Again, in seventeen of the twenty-two railways of Table I, for which information was available, the capital stock increased since 1895 from approximately \$875,296,724 to \$1,143,512,238 or over 32 per cent; the number of stockholders increased from 92,029 to 100,532 or over 9 per cent, and the average stockholding increased from \$9,318 to \$11,435 or over 22 per cent. Similarly in Table II, we find that eleven railways have increased their capital stock since 1890 from \$350,106,859 to \$564,251,559 or over 61 per cent. During the same period the number of stockholders decreased from 20,109 to 7,980 or over two and a half times, thus increasing the average stockholding from \$17,410 to \$70,708 or over four times. More significant by far has been the increase of the average stockholding of the railways of Table III. Since 1890 eleven of these roads have increased their capital stock from approximately \$387,419,427 to \$523,048,100 or nearly 35 per cent.

* S. S. Pratt, "The Work of Wall Street," p. 45.

Within the same period the number of stockholders has decreased from 6,215 to 239, while the average stockholding has increased over thirty-five times. Despite, therefore, the rapid changes in stock ownership, the railways of the foregoing three tables show, on the whole, a marked tendency towards an increased average stockholding. The above tables, if they err in any direction, may be regarded as underrating rather than overstating the average stockholding at the present time.

Thus far, then we have taken into account the average stockholding of leading railways whose capital stock aggregates \$3,551,800,382 or about 60 per cent of the total railway stock of the country. Directing our attention to the distribution of stock of the smaller roads, our only guide, again, consists in the State Railroad Commission reports. An examination of the latest of these reports indicates that the stock of the smaller roads in the West is held by comparatively few investors and that the stock, on the whole, becomes more and more widely diffused as we go Eastward, especially towards the New England States. Thus from the preceding tables it appears that the six principal New England railways, with stock aggregating \$172,000,000, show the exceedingly large number of 36,540 stockholders. Likewise Table IV, including those New England railways with stock of \$1,000,000 or over, shows an exceedingly large number of stockholders in view of the small capitalization of the roads. In short, the twenty-seven railways included in this table have their aggregate stock of \$93,294,375 distributed among 20,347 stockholders. When to the railways of Table IV are added the roads with stock of less than \$1,000,000, the railway commission reports of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire show the total number of stockholders for the roads represented in these states, and for which calculation can be made, to be 28,923. The average stockholding in these roads for Connecticut is placed by the reports at approximately \$7,041. Maine follows next with an average holding of \$5,486, while Massachusetts and New Hampshire have the extremely low averages of \$3,146 and \$3,451 respectively. If we could carry our inquiry to all the railways represented in all the New England States, it is safe to assume from the above calculations that the total number of stockholders of New England railways would be considerably in excess of 70,000. If, however, we extend our inquiry to the smaller roads

outside of New England the average seems considerably larger. Thus the average amount of stock per holder in all the railways considered by the reports, and for which calculation could be made, is, approximately, \$156,638 in Minnesota, \$110,600 in Louisiana, and \$72,320 in Kansas. Of the remaining states for which calculations were possible, the greatest average stockholding (\$49,484) is shown in Arkansas. Alabama follows next with an average of approximately \$43,239, and then Michigan with an average of \$33,859. In New York the average stockholding for such roads, other than proprietary and lesser surface steam railway companies, is approximately \$18,582, and in Virginia \$15,849.

If the averages presented in the preceding paragraph are correct, the conclusion suggested is that, excluding the New England railways and the roads represented in Table I, the stock owned by the average holder is comparatively large. A closer investigation will reveal the fact, however, that the question is not fully determined by merely presenting the average stockholding for the roads of each of the four groups. It is manifest that while the above averages present the minimum concentration of stock among the so-called "stockholders," they do not take account of the fact that these stockholders do not in all cases necessarily represent individual holders, but may in some cases represent corporations. In the first place, one railway corporation, itself representing many stockholders, may be the holder of a portion of the stock of another railway company. Or considerable blocks of such securities may be held by trust companies, life insurance companies, investment companies, etc., which in turn represent the investments of a large number of persons, many of whom belong to the middle and poorer classes. How far this process of subdivision must be carried in order to fairly determine the extent to which the population of the country is now involved in railway ownership, it is difficult to judge. Suffice it to say, that large blocks of railway securities are held in this way, and that this indirect form of investment is rapidly increasing. Thus on July 1, 1901, the general stock investments of the trust companies of New York City alone aggregated over \$209,000,000. Even in the case of savings banks, whose investment powers have been very carefully safeguarded, a change of policy is manifesting itself. Since 1899, for example, the three states of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut were obliged, owing to the rapid increase

of the deposits, to extend the power of these institutions to invest to a limited degree in railway securities. While no available statistics exist on this phase of our subject, we may nevertheless conclude that this subdivision of the stockholdings in railway securities, especially when we remember that trust companies, investment companies, and the like, representing the merging together of a large number of small and separately owned capitals, do actually hold large blocks of railway shares, points unmistakably to a very widely diffused ownership. Nothing more strikingly illustrates the extent to which this diffused ownership may exist in some of our leading railways, than the statement of Mr. J. J. Hill to the effect that "when the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad was taken into the Northern Securities Company some 2,000 of its 18,000 stockholders owned five shares each and 300 owned one share each."⁹ The Eastern trunk lines were reported to have had their stock distributed among 99,829 shareholders in the year 1896, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company reported that 40 per cent of its shareholders were women.¹⁰

One other exception to the above averages is pertinent to our discussion. This exception, while it does not in the least disprove the wide diffusion of stock ownership indicated by the foregoing process of subdivision, does tend to show, on the contrary, a large degree of concentration of stock in individual hands. To rely merely upon the preceding averages, it is clear, would prove inadequate for our purpose, since they do not afford an exact criterion of the actual proportion of stock held by the different shareholders. The concentration of stock ownership in individual hands, as indicated by these averages, becomes all the greater when we remember, first, that the above tables fail to show the unequal distribution of the stock among the shareholders of any given road, which as a practical matter of fact we know exists; and, secondly, that they do not take cognizance of the very common fact that the well-to-do stockholders of one railway, though owning far more than their proportionate share, also own stock in a large number of other roads.

How unequal the stock of a particular railway may be distributed among its holders is well illustrated in the case of the Fitchburg and New England railways. With the exception of the Boston and Albany, the Boston and Maine, and the Old Colony railways,

⁹ Independent, Vol. LIV, p. 1030.

¹⁰ United States Industrial Commission, Vol. IV, p. 642.

the Fitchburg Railroad Company represents the lowest average stockholding of the roads of Table I. Yet 624 of its stockholders, or those residing in New Hampshire, own but \$871,300 of its \$24,360,000 of capital stock; while 1,119 of its 5,935 stockholders own but \$1,440,000. More significant, still, is the instance of the inequality of ownership afforded in the case of the New England Railroad Company. This company has its capital stock of \$25,000,000 distributed among fifty-one stockholders, and with but three exceptions shows the largest average stockholding of the nineteen roads included in Table III. Yet twenty-six, or one-half of these fifty-one stockholders, according to the Massachusetts Railway Commission report, owned but \$55,000 of the capital stock, or slightly more than the one-five-hundredth part of the total.

Having thus illustrated the unequal distribution of stock among the owners of a given road, which illustrations may be almost indefinitely multiplied, we may now inquire briefly into the second point, the ownership of stock by one individual in several or many roads. To what extent this multiple ownership exists is partly indicated by a comparison of the directorates of a number of the leading railways with a view of noticing to what degree the names of the directors of various railways duplicate one another. For the purpose of this comparison, the names of the directors of the ninety principal railways, as published in the State Railroad Commission reports, and including the directors of all the roads of Tables I, II, and III, were examined. After a tabular analysis had been made, and all duplications had been eliminated, it was found that the total number of positions in the directorates of these ninety roads was 819 and the total number of individual directors 393. Of this number of individual directors one was the director of fifteen roads, aggregating over \$929,000,000 of capital stock, and one the director of fourteen roads aggregating over \$565,000,000 of capital stock. Three were the directors of twelve roads each; one of these directors representing capital stock to the extent of \$765,000,000, and the remaining two over \$367,000,000 each. One was the director of eleven roads with a total capital stock of \$572,000,000; one the director of ten roads whose total stock exceeded \$656,000,000, and two the directors of eight roads whose stock reached \$541,000,000 in the one case, and \$565,000,000 in the other. Of the remaining directors, two were the directors of seven roads; eight the direc-

tors of six roads; fourteen the directors of five roads; thirteen the directors of four roads, and forty the directors of three roads. In brief, eighty-six of these 393 directors represented at least three of these important roads, and 192, or nearly one-half of the total number, were found to be directors of two of these roads or more.

But many, if not a majority of these directors, it should be remembered, are also directors of less important roads. The extent to which this is true becomes more apparent when we review the "Directory of Directors" of some of our important cities. Thus from the "Directory of Directors in the City of New York for 1902," we find the names of two stockholders, one of whom is the director of forty-five railways and the other of forty-two. Two stockholders are cited who are directors of thirty-seven and thirty-five roads respectively; two others who are directors of twenty-eight and twenty-two roads; two who are directors of twenty-one roads each, and two who are directors of twenty roads. In short, we find nine stockholders mentioned in this directory who are directors of twenty railways or more; fifteen who are directors of sixteen railways or more; thirty-four who are directors of from ten to fifteen roads, and forty-eight who are directors of seven roads or over. Similarly the "Directory of Directors in the City of Chicago for 1902" includes, as distinct from the above-mentioned directors, the names of three stockholders who are directors of twenty-five, eighteen and fifteen railways respectively, and the names of fifteen who are directors of from five to ten roads. In both directories almost innumerable stockholders are mentioned who are directors of from two to five roads. How much greater the extent of this multiple ownership is, becomes more apparent when we reflect that the above figures represent the directors of but two of our leading cities, and that many of these stockholders are also owners in other railways without being members of their directorates.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have reviewed, as briefly as the subject permits, some of the considerations which assist us in arriving at some conclusion with reference to our subject. Apart from any further details the general results may be summed up as follows:

In the first place, from the evidence submitted it appears that railway stock is to a large extent owned by a great number of holders scattered throughout the country, and representing every

stratum of society. The Illinois Central, we saw, stood out conspicuously in its attempt to extend the ownership of stock to its employees. The Boston and Albany and the Boston and Maine railroads likewise had their stock distributed almost entirely among small holders. The Pennsylvania Railroad has its capital stock of \$204,000,000 distributed among 29,000 individual stockholders,¹¹ a greater number, it is said, than exists in any other company in the world except the United States Steel Corporation. With reference to the New England railways, we noted that the stock was distributed among at least 70,000 stockholders, while the total number of shareholders for the roads of Table I exceeded 144,000. Recognizing that some of these stockholders may in turn represent corporations, it becomes apparent that in some of our great railways the number of small individual owners is exceedingly large. Indeed, it has been estimated by Mr. George B. Blanchard that the total number of holders of railway stock reaches 950,000, and that the total number of stockholders and bondholders combined approximates 1,250,000.¹²

Secondly, in accordance with the statistics presented, we have determined the average stockholding per holder of railways aggregating approximately \$3,822,214.000 or nearly 65 per cent of the total railway stock of the country. A survey of the smaller roads showed, that outside of the New England States, the average stockholding was comparatively large, ranging from a maximum of \$156,638 in Minnesota to a minimum of \$15,849 in Virginia. With reference to the more important railways, we noted that the average stockholding for twenty-two of these roads, representing \$1,541,887,088, was \$10,646. In twenty-two of these roads, aggregating \$1,180,871,739 of stock, the average stockholding was \$69,463; while in nineteen roads, representing a capital stock of \$829,041,555, the average stockholding reached \$2,322,245. By regrouping these railways, however, it was found that over one-half of the total capital stock of the first group is held in average holdings of \$18,561; that over 55 per cent of the total capital stock of the second group is held in average holdings of \$108,000, and that five-eighths of the total capital stock of the third group is held in average holdings of \$10,872,340.

These averages, it is true, are modified by the fact that as

¹¹ Fifty-sixth Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., p. 26.

¹² United States Industrial Commission, Vol. IV, p. 642.

several small corporations become financially interested in, or are merged into a larger railway corporation, the number of small stockholders may thereby be increased many times. But the effect of this increase upon a wider diffusion of railway stock, it is believed, is more than neutralized by the counter-tendency of well-to-do individual stockholders to acquire stock in a large number of such undertakings. Indeed, we have seen that this multiple ownership on the part of individual stockholders exists to an exceedingly large extent. If we recall, furthermore, that the average stockholding for the roads of the first three tables has shown a decided tendency to increase, and that great extremes of stockownership exist even in most of the roads of Table I, we may conclude with a rough degree of accuracy that the above tables present, on the whole, a far too conservative view of the actual concentration of railway stock in individual hands at the present time. Concentration certainly does manifest itself strongly in the roads included in Tables II and III. And, if the composition of the comparatively low averages of the railways of Table I could be ascertained, to see whether they are made up of great extremes or not, it seems probable, from the above considerations, that by far the majority of the large number of stockholders cited for these roads represent small investors, and that the majority of the stock, in many, if not in a majority of these roads, is held by a comparatively few large holders.

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Philadelphia.

GROWTH AND MANAGEMENT OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

We are passing through an era of rapid change in our manufacturing and commercial industries and are witnessing the building up of huge industrial combinations. Our whole industrial world is rapidly assuming changed form and proportion. As agriculture is our basic industry, careful note should be made of the changes that are taking place in this great field of human industry.

We are still an agricultural nation. The total value of farm property in the United States, according to the twelfth census,¹ is \$20,514,001,838; an increase of 28.4 per cent over the total value reported in 1890. There are 5,739,657 farms in this country, having an average size of 146.6 acres each.

What are the tendencies disclosed by the census of 1900, in the different sections of our country with regard to farm products, methods employed, use of fertilizer, size of farms, ownership or tenancy? What is the progress of the negro farmer? We shall, in the following pages, attempt to organize and systematize the facts as given us by the last census, and to draw whatever conclusions this study may seem to warrant.

For purposes of comparison the United States has been divided into eight groups. The states composing these groups show similar tendencies; and, to some extent, each group has its own marked features and peculiarities. The classification chosen is not the same as that used by the Census Bureau, but is the one which seems best adapted to our present purpose. These groups are as follows: Group I, New England States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Group II, North Atlantic States, not including New England: New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. Group III, North Central States: Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. Group IV, Mississippi Valley States: North and South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri and Oklahoma. Group V, Southern States, not including the Cotton Belt: North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas. Group VI, the Cotton Belt: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Group VII, Rocky Mountain States and Texas: Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. Group VIII, Pacific Coast: California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

Characteristic features of Each Group.—Groups I and VII represent the two extremes of agriculture in the United States,—dairying, market gardening and raising of small fruits on the one hand, and grazing on the other.

The most striking feature of the New England group is the marked

¹ The statistics given herein are taken from the Bulletin of the Twelfth Census.

decrease in the acreage of improved farm land during the last twenty years, and particularly during the last ten years. We find a gradual decrease in the total amount of the cereals raised during the last fifty years. For example, Massachusetts in 1859 raised 119,783 bushels of wheat; in 1899 only 1,750 bushels were raised. In 1849, 2,345,490 bushels of corn were raised in that state; in 1899, 1,539,980 bushels. A corresponding increase in dairy farming, market gardening and horticulture is found. In 1900, the principal source of income of 45.8 per cent of the total farm acreage in Massachusetts, was dairy farming; in Maine, 28.4 per cent. The raising of hay, forage, and the cereals is chiefly incidental to the dairy farming and live stock industries. The amount of milk produced in these states shows a great increase; but the amount of butter and cheese produced on the farms has, in general, decreased. There has been a transfer of these industries to the factories and creameries. The growth of the cities has greatly increased the demand for milk and cream.

We find that Western competition has gradually forced the farmers of this section to abandon the raising of cereals and of live stock for slaughter; and has caused them to devote their energies to the production of such products as milk, small fruits, vegetables and poultry for the consumption of the town and city population of New England. Census Bulletin, No. 104, gives an instructive comparison regarding the income derived from animal products in Arizona and Connecticut. In Connecticut, in 1899, of the total value of animal products, 60.9 per cent was dairy produce; 17.3 per cent animals sold and slaughtered; 21.5 per cent poultry and eggs.

In Arizona, the percentages were respectively 12 per cent, 70.9 per cent and 6.1 per cent.

From 1870 to 1890, there was a steady decrease in the value of land, improvements and buildings. From 1890 to 1900, however, a slight increase was found. Maine is an exception to the last statement, and it is worthy of notice that the northern portion of this state is still largely devoted to general agriculture.

Group II seems to be progressing toward dairy farming and market gardening, but it is not as far advanced as the New England States. New Jersey, owing to its proximity to New York City, has developed market gardening to a considerable degree. Vegetables are the principal source of income of 14 per cent of the farm acreage of this state. Maryland devotes a considerable portion of her farm land to market gardening. The value of farm land, improvements and buildings in Pennsylvania, New York and Delaware has declined each decade since 1870; while that of Maryland has increased since 1880, and that of New Jersey since 1890. This certainly seems to point toward dairying and market gardening as the future industries for the farmers of these five states. There has, however, been an increase in the acreage devoted to corn and wheat since 1889. We find a fairly constant decrease since 1850 in the number of sheep, and an increase in the number of dairy cows and horses. These states show a slight decrease in the percentage of improved land. The greatest decrease, 5.7 per cent, is found in New York.

Live stock, hay and grain form the principal source of income of a large percentage of farm acreage of Group III. In Wisconsin, dairy farming is an important industry. Michigan contributes 36.5 per cent of the total acreage devoted to the raising of sugar beets. The value of farm land, improvements and buildings has increased rapidly, during the last decade, in Illinois and Wisconsin, slowly in Indiana and Michigan, and has slightly decreased in Ohio.

The acreage devoted to corn shows a considerable increase in each, ranging from 20 per cent in Ohio to 50.9 per cent in Michigan. Illinois devoted in 1899, 10,266,335 acres to the cultivation of corn, from which 398,149,140 bushels were obtained. This is an increase of 108,000,000 bushels over the crop of 1889, and 73,000,000 bushels more than obtained in 1879. The number of bushels of wheat produced in each state of this section has decreased steadily since 1879, with the exception of Ohio, in which state an increase is shown since 1889.

The number of dairy cows reported is less than in 1889 in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Wisconsin and Michigan show an increase. The increase in the production of milk varies from 24.5 per cent in Illinois to 55.5 per cent in Wisconsin. The percentage of improved land is about the same as in 1890. Wisconsin only shows a decrease.

This group of states shows no very decided changes during the past decade. The total value of farm property has increased rapidly during this period, except in Ohio, where the increase is very slight. It is not likely that these states are to be driven from the extensive production of the cereals.

Group IV is developing very rapidly, the value of farms and farm products is increasing at a rapid pace. During the last decade, the value of farm land, improvements and building has increased 97 per cent in Minnesota, 163.9 per cent in North Dakota, 104.8 per cent in South Dakota, 75 per cent in Iowa, 43.6 per cent in Nebraska, 15 per cent in Kansas, 34.9 per cent in Missouri, and about fourteen times in Oklahoma. During the same period, the gain in the United States was 25.6 per cent.

The amount of corn and wheat produced is increasing in every state. Minnesota and North Dakota show a large increase in the amount of wheat. In 1889, Minnesota produced 52,300,247 bushels of wheat, and North Dakota 26,403,365 bushels; in 1899, 95,278,660 and 59,888,817 respectively. Iowa raised 383,453,190 bushels of corn in 1899, an increase of 70,000,000 bushels over that raised in 1889.

The live stock industry has experienced a steady growth during the past forty years. In Iowa and Missouri the increase during the last ten years is very slight, and we shall not expect any great increase in the near future in these two states.

All the states in Group V show a steady increase in the total value of farm property, and land, improvements and buildings; but the percentage is not as great as that of the entire United States. Live stock, hay and grain are very important products in these states. Cotton is an important crop in North Carolina and Arkansas; tobacco in Virginia and Kentucky. The

number of horses and mules reported show a marked increase since 1870. This section of the country is devoted to general farming. Conditions seem to be gradually, but surely, improving.

Florida is grouped with the cotton producing states, although it is not as distinctively a cotton growing state as are the other five states. In Alabama 54 per cent of the farm acreage of the state produces cotton as its principal crop; in Georgia, 62.5 per cent; in Louisiana, 51.7 per cent; in Mississippi, 58.8 per cent; in South Carolina, 65.4 per cent, and in Florida, 19.2 per cent.

With the exception of Florida, which shows a decrease since 1890, these states show a steady and rapid increase in the total value of farm property, and in the value of land, improvements and buildings. This period extends from 1870 to the present time. For example, in Louisiana, during the period of 1890-1900, the total value of farm property increased \$88,089,901, or 79.8 per cent. The increase in the United States during that period was 28.4 per cent.

In Group VII we find the live stock industry predominant. This is the great grazing region. Live stock is the principal source of income for 80.6 per cent of the total acreage of Montana; 60.1 per cent of Utah; 90.1 per cent of Wyoming; 64.4 per cent of Colorado; 81.3 per cent of Nevada; 83 per cent of Arizona; 84.9 per cent of New Mexico, and 71.7 per cent of Texas.

The number of "other neat animals" reported in 1900 shows an increase over 1890 in each state of this group except Wyoming. The number of sheep raised has also increased in each state except Texas, which shows a decrease from 3,454,858, in 1890, to 1,439,940, in 1900. Wyoming reports 3,327,185 sheep in 1900, an increase of about four times over that of 1890; Colorado, 1,352,823, or double that of 1890; New Mexico, 3,333,743, about two and a half times the number reported in 1890; Utah, 2,553,134, double that of 1890; Montana, 4,215,214, also double that reported in 1890. These five states and Texas report 16,222,039 sheep in 1900, or about 41 per cent of the total number reported in the United States. As the total number of sheep reported in the United States only shows an increase of 11.1 per cent in the period 1890-1900, we see what an enormous transfer of the sheep-raising industry has taken place. Nearly all of the Eastern States show a marked decline in this industry. Texas reports 8,567,173 "other neat animals," or about one-sixth of the total number reported in the United States. Colorado reports 1,333,202.

The percentage of improved land in this section is, of course, small, ranging from 25.1 per cent in Utah, to 6.4 per cent in New Mexico. The acreage of unimproved land has increased enormously during the last ten years; and, while the amount of improved land has increased, the percentage shows a large decrease.

In Group VIII, the value of all kinds of farm property has increased very rapidly during the last ten years, except in the State of California. The character of the products of this group is similar to that of Group IV. Washington and Idaho show large increases in the amount of wheat produced. Washington reported 21,187,527 bushels of wheat in 1899; 6,345,426, in 1889. California reports 37.4 per cent of the entire acreage of sugar

beets. With regard to the number of sheep, the same tendency is observed as in Group VII; the northern states, Washington and Idaho, show a large increase, while California reports a considerable decrease.

The Number and Size of Farms.—One hundred, or even fifty years ago, the farm was almost a self-contained unit. It consumed little except what it produced. The farmer made his own clothes, shoes, cheese, butter and candles; he was his own carpenter, blacksmith and wheelwright. These industries have been appropriated, with the exception in some cases of butter making, by the factories. The farmer is relieved from almost all kinds of transforming work. The effect of all this is to make him more dependent. He must buy more and sell more. He must co-operate with many other workers of different trades and occupations. Farming is now a strictly competitive business, in a market which is nearly world-wide. How is this change to effect the size and management of our farms? Is the tendency toward combination and consolidation, as in manufacturing and commercial industries? Are we to have a few owners, and a great class of tenants or of hired farm laborers; or a large number of small owners with few hired helpers?

While the census returns will not give us any definite answer to these questions, a study of the different sections of the United States may throw some light on the problem. Farming is subject to the law of diminishing returns. The limit to the amount of capital which may be profitably utilized on a given space of ground is soon reached. This limit is a variable depending upon many different factors; for example, the quality of the land, the presence or absence of new land, and the methods of transportation. Farming does not, in its present state, admit of an extreme division of labor. The exact time of beginning and quitting work cannot be regulated as in manufacturing. The quantity of work to be done varies greatly with the seasons. This is not true of dairying; but the inability to obtain help at the proper time has, in some instances, prevented extreme specialization of crops. This furnishes one of the difficult problems of our great wheat-growing sections. Farming, to a high degree, requires that personal attention and care which is ordinarily not given by the wage-earner; but is only given by those who receive a share in the profits of the farm. All these conditions show farming to be a peculiar industry; tendencies in agriculture and tendencies in manufacturing are not likely to follow parallel lines of development.

The number of farms in the United States has increased steadily since 1850. The total acreage has also increased throughout the same period. The average size of each farm decreased up to 1880; but has increased since that date.

In New England, the greatest number of farms was reported in 1880. Each state reached a maximum at this time. Since 1890, the number has increased in Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire. Rhode Island reports two less in 1900 than 1890; and Maine shows a decrease of 2,714 or 4.4 per cent of those reported in 1890. The average size of the farms, located in this section in 1890, was 101.9 acres; in 1900, 104.1 acres. But Massachusetts and Rhode Island show a decrease; while in

Connecticut the average size remains as in 1890. It is in these three states that market gardening and the raising of small fruit has been the most highly developed.

In Group II, with the exception of New York, each state reports more farms and of a smaller average size than in any previous decade. In New York, the greatest number was reported in 1880. The number in 1900 is, however, greater than in 1890. The average size of farms in New York decreased steadily until 1890; but the last decade shows an increase. The average size of the farms in this section was 98.1 acres in 1900, and 100.9 in 1890.

Each state in Group III reports a steady increase in the number of farms, from 1850 to 1900. The percentage of improved land has changed but slightly during the last decade. The average size of farms was, in 1900, 102.7 acres; in 1890, 104.6 acres. Michigan and Wisconsin show an increase in the average size during the last decade.

All states in Group IV, except Missouri, show an increase in the average size of farms. The exception in this case is due probably to an increase in the number of negro farmers. In 1890, the average size was 187 acres; in 1900, 235.5 acres.

Groups V and VI show very decided tendencies. In each state of these two groups, the number of farms has increased remarkably during the last thirty years. The size of the farm has decreased with corresponding rapidity; and the percentage of improved land shows an increase. In Louisiana, the number of farms has increased from 69,294, in 1890, to 115,969 in 1900; while the average size has decreased from 137.7 acres to 95.4 acres. In Virginia, the number increased from 127,600 to 167,886 during the same period, and the average size decreased from 149.7 acres to 118.6 acres. Florida shows the least change in these two items. The average size of farms in Group V was 100.3 acres in 1900, and 128.8 in 1890; in Group VI, 97.5 acres in 1900, and 125.9 acres in 1890.

However, it is to be noted that in Group VI, for example, the average size of farms owned by white farmers is 139.1 acres; of those owned by negro farmers, 50 acres. This will be again considered under a following head.

The increase in the size of farms, in Group VII, is extremely large during the last decade. The average size in 1890 was 493.9 acres; in 1900 it was 653.9. In Wyoming, the increase was from 585.7 acres to 1,333 acres. This state now has the largest average acreage per farm. The five states in this section, which show a large increase in the number of sheep reported, also show a very high percentage of increase in the size of farms. This is also true of Texas.

In Group VIII, California and Oregon show a decrease in the average size of each farm; Washington and Idaho report an increase for the last decade.

The average size of a farm in the United States was, in 1850, 202.6 acres; in 1860, 199.2; in 1870, 153.2; in 1880, 133.7; in 1890, 136.5, and in 1900, 146.6. During the last decade the increase was 10.1 acres.

The increase or decrease for each group during the last ten years was:^a

| | | Increase, Acres. | Decrease, Acres. |
|-------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Group | I | 2.2 | ... |
| Group | II | ... | 2.8 |
| Group | III | ... | 1.9 |
| Group | IV | 47.5 | ... |
| Group | V | ... | 28.5 |
| Group | VI | ... | 28.4 |
| Group | VII | 160.0 | ... |
| Group | VIII | 3.3 | ... |

When the groups are thus separated, it can be seen that the gain in the average farm acreage is caused, in a large measure, by one section; and that section is the one least developed—the section where sheep and stock raising rather than tilling the soil are the chief agricultural occupations. The increase found in Group IV is chiefly due to the five comparatively young states, North and South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma. Missouri shows a decrease, as mentioned above; while Iowa reports an increase of only 0.2 acre. The decrease shown in Groups V and VI is due to the increase in the number of negro farmers. Excluding those states in which the agricultural industry is limited almost exclusively to the raising of cattle for slaughter and sheep, there was a decrease, not an increase, in the average size of farms in the United States during the period 1890-1900. This decrease is, however, very slight, and is due to the change mentioned in the South. We can find no tendency toward "large-scale" farming, or, as it is sometimes called, "bonanza" farming.

Fertilisers.—In the Northern States, at least, the kind of agriculture that is pursued in a given state, can be judged by the amount of fertilizer used. In Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland, the states in which market gardening has reached its highest development, the average cost of fertilizer per farm varied, in 1900, from \$35 in Massachusetts to \$62 in New Jersey. The states which are approaching this kind of agriculture, namely, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, New York and Pennsylvania, report an annual cost varying from \$12.55 in New Hampshire to \$21 in Pennsylvania. In Group III, the cost varies from \$2 in Wisconsin to \$10 in Ohio. In the Southern States, there is a great variation; the extremes are Arkansas \$1 per farm, and South Carolina \$29 per farm. In the remaining states fertilizer is an extremely small item, except in California, where the average cost is \$13 per farm.

The value of live stock in present day farm economy must not be overlooked. In the Eastern States the raising of live stock is carried on chiefly because of the value of manure as a restorer of fertility to the land. The same is, of course, true of dairy farming in many instances. The Industrial Commission

^a The average size of farm in each group is obtained by adding the averages of the several states together and dividing by the number of states in the group.

Report cites the case of Jefferson County, Wis. In 1870, owing to exclusive grain farming, the fertility of the soil was exhausted; and the average yield of wheat was eight bushels per acre. Dairying was then introduced; the yield has increased until at the present time the average is twenty-one bushels per acre. The value of such by-products as straw, cornstalks, bran, etc., is fully utilized where live stock is raised on the farm. Commercial fertilizer is used as an additional aid.

All vegetable growths obtain their nourishment from two sources, the soil and the air. The air is practically inexhaustible; but the soil needs renewal. The elements taken from it must be returned to it in the shape of manure or fertilizer. The future of agriculture depends upon keeping unimpaired the fertility of the land. The farmer who sells his wheat, oats, corn and hay, and who keeps no live stock is simply destroying the fertility of his farm. The detrimental effects are sure to be felt sooner or later.

This country, by exporting wheat instead of flour, is losing a valuable feed product.³ The bran furnishes a cheap feed, thus decreasing the expense of feeding stock, and it also furnishes a valuable manure. A double gain to our farmers is lost if we export the raw product, wheat. A large proportion of the coarser products of a farm, as hay, straw, cornstalks, cornmeal, bran, oats, etc., should be returned to that farm in the form of manure. For like reasons, a country should not continually export raw materials. The country which does this is unnecessarily impoverishing itself; it is impairing its patrimony.

"Experience seems to have demonstrated that stock growing and stock feeding are essential to permanent prosperity in farming. The answer to the whole question of what to do to escape from exhausting the soil fertility is found in keeping more stock. Live stock has ceased to be a side issue in the organization of the farm, and it no longer serves its main purpose in supplying food for the farm family, but has become the keystone to the whole structure of development in the newer farm economy, which recognizes that the point of diminishing return to labor and capital can be indefinitely postponed only by utilizing live stock of such types and condition as will pay for themselves the year round, both by helping to maintain the fertility of the farm and by contributing to its cash income."⁴

Ownership of Farms.—In 1880, 74.5 per cent of the farms in the United States were operated by the owners or part owners; in 1890, 71.6 per cent, and in 1900, 64.7 per cent. There was a decrease of 2.9 per cent during the period 1880-1890; 6.9 per cent during 1890-1900. In other words, in 1900, three out of every eight farmers in the United States were tenants; or approximately 2,000,000 farms were owned by landlords. With the exception of one section, New England, there has been a marked increase in the percentage of farms operated by tenants. In 1900, Maine reported the highest percentage of owners, 95.3 per cent; and Mississippi the lowest percentage, 37.6 per cent. Only three states report a larger percentage of owners in 1900 than in 1890, namely, Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire. The average percentage for

³ See Review of Reviews, May, 1902. "The Fallacy of Exporting Wheat."

⁴ Industrial Commission Report. Vol. XIX, pp. 160-61.

New England, in 1900, was 88.4 per cent; in 1890, 88.7 per cent, and in 1880, 89.3 per cent. This group reports the highest percentage of owners, and also shows the least percentage of decrease during the last decade.

The states in the Cotton Belt show the lowest percentage of owners; the average in 1880 was 58 per cent; in 1890, 53.6 per cent, and in 1900, 45.7 per cent. Groups IV and VII show the greatest change in the ratio of owners to tenants. Group VII reported 81.2 per cent of its farms as operated by owners or part owners in 1900, 89.1 per cent in 1890, and 88.2 per cent in 1880. Group IV reported 74.2 per cent in 1900, and 82.3 per cent in 1890.

Do these statistics mean that we are approaching a condition in which a great majority of our farms are to be owned by absentee landlords, and operated by tenants who have little or no hope of eventually becoming farm owners?²⁵ If so, it is a deplorable tendency and one worthy of consideration by every student of agricultural conditions, a race of tenant farmers means a deterioration of our farming population. This whole problem is bound up in the social, economic and educational problems of the rural community. Given good schools, good roads, efficient and reasonable steam and electric railroad service, good and wide-awake churches, farmers' institutes and clubs and the danger of a permanent tenant class can never become acute.

The extremely low percentage of owners in the South is due to the number of negro tenants. In Mississippi, 66.2 per cent of the white farmers are owners or part owners, while only 16.1 per cent of the negro farmers are owners or part owners. In South Carolina, the percentages are, respectively, 57.8 per cent and 22.2 per cent. In the United States, 746,717 negro farmers were reported in 1900; of this number, 462,675 were found in Group VI. Group VI reports 518,177 white farmers. There are more negro than white farmers in Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana.

When slavery was abolished, the wage laborer succeeded the slave laborer; but in recent years a system of renting small farms to negroes has come into extensive use. The negroes are rapidly becoming tenants, and in many cases owners. This is certainly indicative of an improvement in the condition of the negro; also, of a case in which an increase in tenantry is desirable.

Farm Machinery and Implements.—The total value of implements and machinery used by the farmers of the United States, was \$761,261,550 in 1900, \$494,247,467 in 1890, \$406,520,055 in 1880. The gain during the last decade was 54 per cent. A comparison of the cost of hand and machine labor has been made by the Department of Labor. The cost per acre for corn is estimated as \$3.625 for hand, \$1.513 for machine labor; for wheat, \$3.6333 and \$0.6892; for oats, \$3.7292 and \$1.0732. The reduction in labor time is correspondingly great.

What is the influence of farm machinery upon the farmer? It has enabled him to intensify agriculture. He is enabled to raise more products, to do more work, and to shorten his working day. The number of laborers per acre has not greatly decreased. The farm laborer is released from much

²⁵ See Report of Industrial Commission. Vol. XIX, p. 96.

drudgery, and is allowed more leisure time. Steady work, if not too prolonged or exhausting, is a boon to mankind; but, if we are to enjoy our lives, if we are to be something more than mere machines for producing and consuming, leisure time must be allowed for social intercourse, for reading, for games and other forms of recreation. The farmer has been allowed little leisure in the past. If machinery gives him more leisure, he must learn how to properly utilize it. Hence, there is a great necessity now for good rural schools and churches, rural mail delivery and other social and economic improvements.

In some cases, the use of machinery has caused a very intermittent demand for farm labor. This may prove to be one of the factors which will prevent extreme specialization of crops.

The Population of Rural Communities.—Is the population of the rural districts in the older states increasing or decreasing? Our cities are still growing more rapidly than the remainder of the country; but the rate of increase is slowing up more rapidly than that of the entire United States. For example, from 1880-90, our total population increased 24.9 per cent; from 1890-1900, 20.7 per cent. During the same periods, the cities now having a population of 25,000 or more, increased 49.5 per cent and 32.6 per cent respectively.

Four out of five counties in Rhode Island (the county in which Providence is located, is the one omitted) reported a population of 78,657 in 1880, 90,383 in 1890, and 99,773 in 1900. This indicated little gain, or perhaps a loss in the strictly rural population. Five out of eight counties in Connecticut reported a gain of 26,740 during the period 1870-1880; 11,180, 1880-1890; and 19,605, 1890-1900. The five counties chosen are those having the smallest population. This shows a tendency toward a larger rural population. Vermont, a state having no large cities, reported an increase in population of 1,735 during the period 1870-1880; 136, 1880-1890; 11,219, 1890-1900. This accords with Connecticut. The rural counties of New York show little change during the last decade.

Professor Cooley has made a study of twelve rural townships in Southern Michigan.* In these townships, there was a decrease of 1,100 during the period 1880-1890, and 628 during the period 1890-1900. He reports similar results in a study of ten rural townships in New York and Connecticut. His conclusion is that there has been a gradual slowing up of the decrease in the rural population of these three states.

The population of the State of Ohio increased 485,229 during the last decade; but five out of eighty-eight counties reported an increase of 294,986. These five counties contained the cities of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Columbus and Dayton. Of twenty counties having a population of less than 25,000 each, seven reported an increase in population and thirteen a decrease during the last decade. In the South there is a general increase in the population. In Mississippi, only four counties show a decrease in population since 1890; in Tennessee, eight, and in North Carolina, ten.

* Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association. Vol. VI, p. 355.

These statistics only give force to the belief that the great discrepancy, between the rate of growth of our cities and of our rural districts, is not likely to be as great in the future as it has been in the past. New and powerful factors in rural life, the trolley lines, rural mail delivery, the telephone, better rural schools and better roads, may be expected to cause a backward flow from cities to the rural communities. The isolation of the farmer's life has been one of its worst features. "While one person," says one writer, "is drawn to a city by schools, churches, libraries, concerts and theaters, five are drawn by the excitement and stir and bustle of a city." The reduction in the average size of the family, and the increase of the foreign element have reduced somewhat the social activity of rural communities. The church is no longer the social center that it was formerly in rural communities.

The farmer's life in the past has been characterized in this fashion: "Perpetual toil in good weather all through the busy season, and perpetual loneliness in bad weather and most of the winter." Good roads are to be the solution of the question of "perpetual loneliness" during bad weather. The lot of the farmer's wife has been especially hard. She has been condemned to a life of hard work from early morning to night, day after day, and year after year. If a farmer leads an isolated life, the life which his wife leads is doubly isolated. Woman's domestic industry is one of the "belated industries." The march of modern invention and modern industry has to a large degree passed it by.

It may be urged that this isolation is no new thing, people have always lived more or less in isolation. The isolation of the pioneer was greater than that of any farmer of the present day. The real cause of the discontent lies in the contrast between the social advantages of the city and those of the rural communities. The cities have drained the rural districts on account of their economic and social opportunities. The competition of the grazing lands of the West, and of the cereal growing land situated in Mississippi Valley has caused the abandonment of many farms in the northeastern portion of our country. The increase in intensive methods in agriculture will aid in arresting a decrease in the rural population. The farmer of the near future will be able to obtain many of the advantages of the city without many of its disadvantages, its homelessness, its dirt, its noise and its overcrowding. The writer believes that the census of 1910 will show a relative decrease in the rate of growth of the cities and a relative increase in the growth of the rural population, as compared with the census reports for 1890 and 1900.

Summary.—The farmers of the United States have been and are still passing through a period of adjustment made necessary by the competition caused by cheapened and improved means of transportation. For example, in the New England States much of the land which was devoted to general agriculture has been allowed to lie fallow. Western grains have driven the New England farmer from the grain-producing industry; and not all the land is needed for the more intensive agriculture of the present. This accounts for the increase of the amount of "unimproved land" in this section of the United States. While this, like all other industrial and social changes, has been very hard and trying to many; in the end the whole people will be

benefited. Those products, which can be transported easily and readily over long distances, will be grown in the section or sections best adapted to raise the same. The raising of cattle for slaughter, of sheep, and of the cereals, has already been to some extent confined to certain sections. Market gardening, growing of small fruits, and the production of milk are carried on in proximity to large cities; it being more difficult, though by no means impracticable, to transport the products over long distances. There are, however, influences at work, of which we have already spoken, that may stop this tendency toward localization of certain agricultural industries. Such localization, if carried to an extreme, may actually cause a waste on account of the extra amount of labor and machinery needed to transport the product. The added cost of transportation might outweigh any economy gained in production.

Steam has caused a concentration of industry in the large cities. Our villages have declined in importance. The latter part of the nineteenth century has been characterized by feverish haste and unhealthy unrest in our cities, by idleness and lack of occupation in our villages. In the country districts farmers have worked their farms just as their fathers did; it is only in recent years that there has been an acceptance, in any appreciable degree, of the idea that science is of value to the farmer. A change may be expected in the near future, and this is to be hastened by the long distance transmission of electrical power and by the development of industries requiring a small amount of machinery and power. This is likely to cause a revival of village industry. The farmer will be benefited by the building up of a home market for his produce. When this occurs we may expect an era of more intensive agriculture, and of increased value of all kinds of farm property. The wide separation in location between manufacturing and agricultural industries is to be lessened. With this change will come not only an improvement in agricultural conditions, but also a betterment in the condition of the laboring class.

In conclusion, the part which education is to take must be briefly considered. "The remedy for urban congestion so far as rural population contributes thereto is partly educational and partly economic." "If the cities gave no better educational facilities to children than many country children have to put up with, families would desert such a city as they would a sinking ship." The last quotation undoubtedly states its case too forcibly; but a great need of the rural community is better educational and social advantages. "We are without doubt in this country just on the edge of a great popular movement for the improvement of the condition of rural life through the improvement of the rural schools. As one phase of the movement there will come the broadening of the instruction in the principles of agriculture, so that in addition to college courses we shall have secondary courses in the ordinary and special high schools and even some elementary instruction in the common schools."⁷ The city does not furnish an environment which is

⁷ Report of Industrial Commission. Vol. XIX, p. 122.

⁸ Popular Science Monthly. September, 1902. Vol. LXI, p. 477.

natural. The education of the young in cities must always lack an essential element. The training received by the farmer lad is one which gives him a great power of adaptability. The lack of such training in the cities is one of the causes for the growth of manual training in our schools. Scientific principles are to guide the successful farmer of the future. Our rural schools, from the primary grades to the agricultural college, must have in view the education of men and women for farm duties.

FRANK T. CARLTON.

Toledo University School.

PERSONAL NOTES

University of Kansas.—Mr. Arthur Jerome Boynton has become assistant professor of economics and sociology in the University of Kansas. Mr. Boynton was born at Janesville, Wis., December 11, 1875, and educated in the public schools, in Beloit Academy and in Beloit College (Ph. B., 1896). For four years Mr. Boynton was teacher of biology and economics in the City High School at Sparta, Wis. During the next two years he received the A. B. from Harvard (1901) and the A. M. from Columbia University in 1902. The year 1902-03 was spent at Harvard.

University of Michigan.—Mr. Frank Burr Marsh has been appointed assistant in history in the University of Michigan. Mr. Marsh was born March 4, 1880, at Big Rapids, Mich., received his preparatory education in the local public schools, and his college course in the University of Michigan, graduating with the Class of 1902. The year 1902-03 was spent at the Sorbonne in Paris.

Dr. Harrison Standish Smalley, who was last year assistant in political economy in the University of Michigan, has been appointed instructor in that institution. He was born in Chicago, April 18, 1878, and educated in the public schools in that city, and in the University of Michigan (A. B., 1900). Dr. Smalley pursued graduate studies in the University of Michigan, 1900-01, 1902-03 and in Cornell University, 1901-02. During the second year at Michigan he was a fellow in political economy and finance.

Under the direction of the Statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Dr. Smalley prepared a report on "State Railroad Regulation from 1890 to 1902." This report has been published by the Commission. Dr. Smalley has also published "A New Phase of Corporation Control in the World To-day," April, 1903.

Dr. Claude Halstead Van Tyne has been called to the University of Michigan as assistant professor in charge of American history department. Dr. Van Tyne was born at Tecumseh, Mich., October 16, 1870, educated in the local public schools and at the State University, receiving the A. B. in 1896. In 1896-97 he was at Heidelberg, 1897 Leipzig and Paris and from 1898-1900 at the University of Pennsylvania as fellow in history, receiving the Ph. D. in 1900. For the next three years he was senior fellow in the last-named institution and in 1903 he spent six months in Washington, D. C., making a report for the Carnegie Institution on the facilities for historical research.

Dr. Van Tyne is a member of the American Historical Association, the Pennsylvania Historical Society and he is editor of *Foundations of American History*, published by the Booklovers' Library.

Dr. Van Tyne has published the following:

"The Loyalists in the American Revolution." Macmillan Company, 1902. 8vo. 360 pp.

"Brief History of the United States." Published by the United States Government for distribution in the Philippines.

"Letters of Daniel Webster." McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902. 8vo. 770 pp.

College of the City of New York.—Professor John H. Finley, late of Princeton, has become president of the College of the City of New York.

Since 1900,¹ Dr. Finley has published the following:

"The Isle of Pines." Scribner's Magazine, February, 1903.

Monthly contributions to *The Lamp*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Frequent contributions to *Harper's Weekly* on political subjects, 1902-1903.

New York University.—Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland has been appointed professor of finance in the New York University.

During the past two years Dr. Cleveland has held the following positions: Instructor in Finance, University of Pennsylvania, 1900-03.

Member of Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics of the National Municipal League.

Secretary of Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics.

Lecturer in finance, New York University, 1902-1903.

Professor in finance, New York University, 1903-1904.

Associated with Haskins & Sells, certified public accountants, 30 Broad street, New York.

Director of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Since the last personal note in January, 1901,² Dr. Cleveland has published the following works:

"Funds and Their Uses." In D. Appleton & Co.'s Business Series, 1902. Pp. 318.

"First Lessons in Finance." D. Appleton & Co.'s Twentieth Century Text-Book Series, 1903. (The same being a revised edition of *"Funds and Their Uses."*)

"Is the United States Treasury Responsible for the Present Monetary Disturbance?" Annals of American Academy, November, 1902.

"The Present Financial Outlook." Annals of American Academy, March, 1903.

"Memorial Edition of Essays on Accountancy and Business Education." By Chas. Waldo Haskins. Introduction and biographical sketch by the editor. Harper & Bros., 1903.

Dr. Cleveland has also contributed a series of financial articles to the *Railway World*, and has written for financial journals.

University of Pennsylvania.—Dr. Jacob Elon Conner has been appointed instructor in economics in the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Conner was born at Wilmington, Clinton County, Ohio, but educated in Iowa, going through the public schools of Henry County, Howes Academy at Mt. Pleasant and the State University, graduating as

¹ See THE ANNALS, vol. xvi, p. 282, September, 1900.

² See THE ANNALS, vol. xvii, p. 108.

Bachelor of Arts in 1891. Graduate work was pursued at Yale, 1891-1892, Chicago 1892-1893, University of Iowa as fellow 1900-1902, receiving the Ph. D. in 1903. He was principal of the Congregational Academy at Pt. Byron, Ill., 1893-1896, held a similar position at Denmark, Ia., and in 1902-1903 was assistant in commerce and finance in the State University of Iowa. He is a member of the following societies: The American Economic Association, the Iowa Political Science Club, the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Dr. Conner has published the following:

"*Uncle Sam Abroad.*" Rand, McNally & Co., 1900. Pp. 250.

An article under same title in the *World To-day*, August, 1903.

Dr. James Wilford Garner² has been appointed instructor in political science at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Garner has been lecturer at Columbia University and acting editor of the department of political science of the New International Encyclopedia. In the latter capacity he has contributed most of the articles in American History and Political Science to the Encyclopedia from the fourth volume on, numbering about three hundred. Among the more important of these are:

Articles on the governments of American and European countries, except Austria-Hungary.

Articles on the Missouri Compromise, Monroe Doctrine, Municipal Corporations, Nullification, Northwest Territory, Nicaragua Canal, Neutrality, Panama Canal, Reconstruction, Privateering, Referendum, Representation, Secession.

Mr. Thomas W. Mitchell,⁴ who was last year assistant instructor in economics and statistics in the State University of Iowa, has become assistant in economics in the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Joseph Russell Smith has been appointed instructor in commerce in the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Smith was born at Lincoln, Loudoun County, Va., February 3, 1874, and educated in the Friends' School at that place and Jenkintown, Pa. He studied in the University of Pennsylvania, 1893-1894 and 1897-1898, receiving the Bachelor's degree. In 1896 and 1897 he attended the summer sessions of the University Extension Society and in 1898-1899 and 1902-1903 did graduate work in the University of Pennsylvania. The University year 1901-1902 was spent at Leipzig and the Ph. D. degree was received at the University of Pennsylvania, 1903, while Harrison fellow in economics. The Doctor's thesis was on "The Organization of the Ocean-Carrying Trade."

In 1895-1896 Dr. Smith was teacher of history and geography at Abington Friends' School, Jenkintown, Pa. He was instructor in history at the George School, Newtown, Pa., during 1896-1897 and 1898-1899. From 1899-1901 he was with the Isthmian Canal Commission at Washington, assisting Professor Emory R. Johnson with traffic investigations. He is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

² See THE ANNALS, vol. xx, p. 402, September, 1902.

⁴ See THE ANNALS, vol. xx, p. 630, November, 1902.

The list of his published writings is as follows:

"*The Philippine Islands and American Capital.*" Popular Science Monthly, June, 1899.

"*Western South America and its Relation to American Trade.*" Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1901.

"*American Forestry—A New Career.*" Forum, May, 1902.

"*Geography in Germany. I. The Primary and Secondary Schools. II. The University.*" Journal of Geography, November and December, 1902.

"*The Economic Geography of the Argentine Republic.*" Bulletin of the American Geographic Society, April, 1903.

Princeton University.—Dr. Arthur Cleveland Hall has been called to Princeton University as instructor in economics and sociology. Dr. Hall was born in New York City, October 25, 1865, received his early education in a private school at Middletown, Conn.; St. John's Military School, Manlius, N. Y. He was four years at Trinity College and received the A. B. in 1888. His graduate work was pursued at Johns Hopkins University, 1892-1894; Columbia University, 1894-1895 (fellow in sociology), 1898-1900, 1902-1903. The Ph. D. was conferred by Columbia in 1901.

From 1888 to 1892 Dr. Hall was in the printing and publishing business in New York and in 1891-1892 he was assistant business manager of the New Bedford *Evening Post*. While a graduate student he worked for charity organizations in Baltimore, Brooklyn and New York, investigated the Coxey movement of 1893, was assistant superintendent of the Bureau of Charities and Corrections, at World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.

In 1895 he was volunteer tenement inspector for the R. W. Gilder Tenement Commission and from 1901-1903 was in charge of the Orange Valley Social Settlement, and New Jersey state delegate to National Prison Association.

Dr. Hall has published the following:

"*Crime in its Relation to Social Progress.*" Columbia University Press, 1902. Pp. xvii, 427.

"*An Observer in Coxey's Camp.*" The Independent, May, 1894.

"*Cuttyhunk.*" The New England Magazine, September, 1897.

Purdue University.—Mr. Edward Hatton Davis has been appointed instructor in economics and history in Purdue University. Mr. Davis was born March 27, 1879, at Hyde Park, Norfolk County, Mass. His early education was obtained in the local grammar school and in the Berkeley and Chauncey Hall Schools in Boston. In 1900 the Bachelor's degree was received from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the year 1902-1903 was spent in the School of Political Science, Columbia University.

During the summer of 1900, Mr. Davis was special agent for Manufactures for the United States Census, and this was followed by two years' service as statistical clerk in the Department of Municipal Statistics, Boston, Mass.

Western Reserve University.—Dr. Elbert Jay Benton has been appointed instructor in history in the Western Reserve University. Dr. Benton was born at Dubuque, Ia., and educated in the public schools of Holton, Kan., and Campbell College, receiving the Bachelor's degree in 1895. He went to

Johns Hopkins University as University scholar in 1901, as fellow in 1902, and received the Ph. D. in 1903.

From 1897 to 1900 Dr. Benton was instructor in history in the Lafayette (Ind.) High School.

He has published the following works:

"Taxation in Kansas." 1899, 40 pp. 12mo. Johns Hopkins Studies.

"The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest." 1903, 112 pp. 12mo. Johns Hopkins Studies.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

THE LATE PROFESSOR JOSEPH LECONTE, whose autobiography¹ has recently been published, was a man of Southern birth and education. His views on the race problem in the South are of interest. He believed that "the great impoverishment of the South was due wholly to the complete disorganization of the labor, as a necessary consequence of the sudden change," due to freeing the slaves. Concerning the question of negro suffrage, LeConte held the view that there should be a franchise without distinction of color, but with an educational and property qualification. He believed in a government of all the people, for all the people, but not by all the people.

THE FOURTH VOLUME of Appleton's Series of Historic Lives has for its subject "Sir William Johnson."² While a number of books have been written on this interesting Colonial character, the present volume brings its subject in closer touch with the history of the time than those which have preceded it. Much of conjecture has been directed toward the possible results of alienation of the Iroquois and the other tribes which made up the confederation known as the Six Nations at a time when Anglo-Saxons were struggling for a foothold on the Western Continent. Mr. Buell does not engage in conjecture of this kind, but by confining himself to the public acts and private life of Sir William Johnson, and pointing out his great activity in the service of the Crown, he has contributed a chapter to American history that cannot be ignored. His portrayal gives a clearer insight into all of the conflicts between England and France, on the one hand, and between the aboriginal inhabitants and the European invaders of their territory on the other, than could possibly be drawn from a general account in which the personality of a leading figure is largely lost. Although Sir William Johnson died just at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, his influence may be traced in our Indian policy to the present day, and the stamp of his enterprise is still to be found on a large part of the interior of the State of New York.

MR. JOHN R. DOS PASSOS' "The Anglo-Saxon Century and the Unification of the English-Speaking People,"³ suggests in its title the theme of the work. After setting forth in his peculiarly free and graphic style the import of the last year of the nineteenth century in its bearing on Anglo-Saxon

¹ The Autobiography of Joseph LeConte. Edited by William Dallam Armes. Pp. xviii, 337. Price, \$1.25. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

² By Augustus C. Buell. Pp. vii, 281. Price, \$1.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

³ Pp. xv, 242. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1903.

supremacy, the author boldly predicts for a united English people the domination of the political world. The reasons given for such a conclusion are drawn from historical analogy and the strong vitality of English institutions. Attention is called to sentimental, economic and legal reasons for union, and as causes for alliance he points to the pressure which will come from continental influence and competition. Mr. Dos Passos has gone further than most writers on this subject, and has set out in detail a plan by which he believes this much desired result may be attained. Perhaps the weakest part of his appeal may be found in the attempt to indicate the specific manner in which his prophecy of political evolution will take place. It is a shock, both to an American and an English reader, even though he accept the desirability of union, to read the detailed prescription that Canada shall release her bond of sovereignty to England and divide her territory into provinces which shall be admitted as states of the Union—and this, too, as one of the steps incident to binding England and America more closely together. The mistake is made that from pure sentiment, which, to say the least, at the present time is ill-defined, the author attempts to forecast the trend of historical events through the coming century with reference to Anglo-Saxon alliance. The work, however, may have some force in raising up discussion and helping to mold opinion. The most fruitful suggestion seems to be along the lines of an Anglo-Saxon Zollverein.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER which the municipal code of Ohio⁴ was passed, in October, 1902, attracted attention throughout the country. The Supreme Court of the state, by a decision rendered in June, 1902, declared unconstitutional the legislation under which the cities of the state had been organized, on the ground that it violated the provisions of the state constitution, forbidding local and special legislation. It was necessary to call a special session of the legislature, to which the governor submitted a municipal code which was intended to guarantee to the cities of the state a wide measure of home rule and to guard them against the evils of state interference in their local affairs. It is this new code which Mr. Ellis has annotated with a wealth of explanatory notes and a careful comparison with the provisions of the old municipal laws. The annotations have been so arranged as to bring out very clearly the main features of the code. The work is deserving of special mention because the Ohio Code is likely to have considerable influence upon municipal legislation in this country. The careful compilation of Mr. Ellis will be welcomed by students of municipal government as an important contribution to the literature of the subject.

"GRIFFIS' YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF HOLLAND"⁵ is in thorough keeping with its title, and the reader must therefore not expect to find in it a full pre-

⁴ Ohio Municipal Code. By Wade H. Ellis. Pp. xxxii, 957. Price, \$3.50. Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson Company, 1903.

⁵ By William Elliot Griffis. Pp. 322. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903.

sensation of the history of Holland. It tells the story of the Dutch people in clear narrative form, selecting everywhere the concrete and tangible; persons and events rather than theories, and tendencies or even politics. The result is a simple and entertainingly told history of Holland for young people that is comparatively free from the use of the pot and shears that so frequently characterizes the making of books of this kind. The illustrations are valuable, being in most cases from contemporary paintings or engravings. The book has an index and an outline of Dutch history in the form of an appendix.

UNDER THE TITLE OF "The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate" there has been published the series of six lectures on Maryland colonial history, delivered by Clayton Colman Hall, before the Johns Hopkins University in 1902. The lectures present an excellent sketch of the lives of the successive barons of Baltimore, together with a review of the more important events relating to the history of colonial Maryland and the relation of the proprietaries to their province. The treatment, although popular in form, is a scholarly one, being based upon the best authorities, and primarily upon the colonial archives. Especially valuable is the very fair and judicial discussion of the much controverted topic of the establishment of religious toleration. The final lecture gives an interesting account of the manners and customs, the social and economic conditions of the province. The author gives in his preface a discriminating estimate of the chief secondary works upon the history of Maryland, and supports his text by frequent references in his footnotes to the archives and other authorities consulted. Excellent reproductions of a portion of Herrman's map of Virginia and Maryland, published in London in 1673, and of the map used in the settlement of the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania, are inserted in the volume.⁷

A DELIGHTFULLY WRITTEN ESSAY in local history, entitled, "Pioneers of Unadilla Village," bears the authorship of Mr. Francis Whiting Halsey. The work is intended as a memorial to Mr. Halsey's native village. It has, however, more than local significance as the history of Unadilla is closely woven into the web of migrations which played so large a part in the development of the interior during the early part of the last century. Another interest is found in the detailed account of land tenures under the peculiar system in vogue in New York, in the description of early town meetings, of road houses, road districts and the other local institutions and activities which bring into clearer light the early pioneer life of the American people. Mr. Halsey's work must be classed among those authentic local histories which

* The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate. By Clayton Colman Hall, LL. B., A. M. Pp. xvii, 216. Price, 60 cents. Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1902.

⁷ Contributed by Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania.

⁸ Pp. xvii, 323. Privately published. Sold by The Vestry of St. Matthew's Church, Unadilla, New York.

have been written of New England towns. It has none of the characteristics of the usual crude efforts toward local history writing.

THE FOURTH VOLUME of the series of Source-readers in American History, selected and annotated by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, with the collaboration of Elizabeth Stevens, is entitled "The Romance of the Civil War." Like the other volumes, this book is intended for children in the grammar grades, and is made up of current writings of the period immediately prior to and during the struggle, which give color to the history of the time. The selections are arranged under eight titles: "The Plantation," "The Underground Railroad," "In and Out of the Army," "Boy Soldiers and Sailors," "In Camp and on the March," "Under Fire," "On Deck" and "Women and the War." Among those represented are some of the most noted writers of the time. Anonymous writings and selections from the more obscure are also found in the collection.

JOHN A. HOBSON's "Imperialism, a Study,"⁹ is more accurately described in the preface than in the sub-title, for it declares the volume to be "distinctively one of social pathology, and no endeavor is made to disguise the malignity of the disease." Mr. Hobson approaches the subject as an ardent and avowed anti-imperialist, rather than as a dispassionate student of history and politics; and the consequence is a first-class campaign document, but not a careful "study" of the difficult and intricate problems incidental to the extension of the power and influence of the great nations over less civilized ones. In Mr. Hobson's view, the spirit and "policy and the methods of imperialism are hostile to the institutions of popular self-government, favoring forms of tyranny and social authority which are the deadly enemies of effective liberty and equality." Our author restates this thought in a variety of ways; but there is no variation of the theme. He takes a hopeless view of present day tendencies in America and Great Britain. He is really morbid on the subject, and he views the formidable mass of material touching British expansion which he has brought together as fit material for pathological studies. For instance, "Imperialism is a narrow, sordid thing"; the peril of imperialism resides in the "falsification of the real import of motives"; it is "partly the dupe of imperfectly realized ideas, partly a case of psychical departmentalism." These quotations, which are all taken from the first few pages of the chapter on "Moral and Sentimental Factors," illustrate alike the style and the point of view. Generalization is our author's favorite method of treating the subject; and is one of the chief faults of the work. For instance (on page 83) he declares that "it is Messrs. Rockefeller, Morgan, Hanna, Schwab and their associates who need imperialism and who are fastening it upon the shoulders of the great Republic of the West. They need imperialism because they desire to use the public resources of their

⁹ Pp. xvi, 418. Price, 60 cents. New York: Macmillan Company, 1903.

¹⁰ Pp. 400. Price, \$2.75. New York: Jas. Pott & Co., 1902.

country to find profitable employment for the capital which otherwise would be superfluous." It is to be regretted that a man of Mr. Hobson's undoubted ability has permitted himself to be led into the faults of overemphasis and generalization and a too hasty acceptance of conclusions thus derived. To those who seek anti-imperialistic arguments, this book is to be recommended; but not to those who are really seeking light on a difficult and complex problem.¹¹

MR. ALFRED HODDER's book, "A Fight for the City,"¹² is the first description of a reform movement in which a broad philosophic treatment of the elements that enter into a local political campaign is attempted. Mr. Hodder describes the Low-Jerome campaign of 1901, in a spirit which does complete justice to Mr. Jerome, but ignores the other candidates. Instead of merely eulogizing Mr. Jerome, the author has made him the text of an essay on the play of political forces in a great city. Every chapter abounds with keen analysis and incisive comment. The chapters on "The Powers that Rule" and "The People's Cause" reach the level of the best pages of American political descriptive literature. The book is one that deserves careful reading, especially by the younger men who are striving to raise the level of our city life.

"THE LIFE OF JAMES MADISON," by Mr. Gaillard Hunt,¹³ is an essay which contains new information on the public and private aspects of Mr. Madison's eventful career. Mr. Hunt has already established himself in the confidence of historians by his thoroughness and skill in editing "The Writings of James Madison." His contributions made to history and the new biographical setting given to his character sketch come from the closer contact of research in the preparation of his former work. There is scarcely an important phase of American History, from the Revolution down to 1825, that has not gained something from the treatment here given.

"THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY"¹⁴ is a reprint and revision of articles appearing in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. The account begins with the organization of the first Standard Oil Company in 1865, and sets out in lucid style the main incidents of organization and operation to the date of publication. Unlike many of the current writings on the subject, it is remarkably free from bias, and may be considered one of the most instructive and authoritative accounts that has yet been put into print. The magazine character of the original has limited the scope of the work, and in this particular it may be somewhat disappointing.

¹¹ Contributed by C. R. Woodruff.

¹² Pp. xi, 246. Price, \$1.50. Macmillan Company, New York, 1903.

¹³ Pp. viii, 402. Price, \$2.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

¹⁴ By Gilbert Holland Montague. Pp. vii, 143. Price, \$1.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1903.

A REGION OF GROWING interest to the traveling public is the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Within two years a number of volumes have been published with the commendable intention of giving the traveler an intelligent understanding of the region. One of the latest of these¹⁵ consists almost wholly of pictures, preceded by a few pages only of introductory remarks. But the pictures are a good collection, and are eloquent in description.

ALTHOUGH THE WORK of Professor Scott is based on Snow's "Cases and Opinions on International Law,"¹⁶ it is in reality a new book. The author has preserved Dr. Snow's arrangement of the subject, but has so enriched the book with new cases that the work may be regarded as his own. The fact that Dr. Snow's book only contains 520 pages of cases, while the present work contains 933, is sufficient indication of the enlarged scope of the work. The author has also greatly improved the index. The only cause for regret is that he omitted the republication of the documents contained in the appendix of the original work and which included the "Declaration of Paris," "The Geneva Convention," "The Instruction for United States Armies in the Field," and other important material for the study of international law. In spite of this fact, however, the book of Professor Scott is certain to supersede Snow's cases. It furnishes to the American student the possibility of studying international law by the "case method." The cases have been selected with such care that it will hardly be necessary for the student to use English case books such as Cobbett. The work of Professor Scott gives to the study of international law a definiteness which it has not hitherto enjoyed.

THE FIRST TWO-THIRDS of "The Real Benedict Arnold," by Mr. Charles Burr Todd,¹⁷ are devoted to a vivid, but rather distorted description of his early Revolutionary career; while the last third consists of a labored attempt to shift the blame of his treason upon an ungrateful Congress and his gay young wife—a method of defence neither gallant nor historically well founded.¹⁸

THE STATE PRINTER OF PENNSYLVANIA (William Stanley Ray, Harrisburg) has just issued a pamphlet of 162 pages, entitled "Vetoes by the Governor, of Bills Passed by the Legislative Session of 1903." It constitutes a unique volume, and is one that will interest the student of current politics and legislative methods. Governor Pennypacker holds the record not only in his own state, but very likely in the whole United States for vetoes. During

¹⁵ Glimpses of the Grand Canyon of Arizona. By Henry G. Peabody. Price, \$1.25. Kansas City. Fred Harvey.

¹⁶ Cases on International Law. By James Brown Scott. Pp. lxiv, 961. Boston: Boston Book Company.

¹⁷ Pp. 233. Price, \$1.20. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1903.

¹⁸ Contributed by I. J. Cox.

and after the session of the Pennsylvania legislature just closed, he vetoed ninety-two measures, and if we take into consideration the bills which were withdrawn from him and amended at his suggestion, and those which were quietly defeated because of his declared opposition, the number would run up to considerably over a hundred. No chief executive of recent years has shown more care in the examination of bills submitted to him for his signature, and the number of veto messages which he has filed of record, clearly indicates the high standard of his requirements.

"AN EXAMINATION OF SOCIETY"¹⁹ by Mr. Louis Wallis, is based upon his article, "The Capitalization of Social Development," in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1902. "The book attempts to bring the doctrine of social evolution more definitely into relation with the facts established by the newer treatment of history and life." The central point in social history is the separation into classes. This "social cleavage" made possible the amassing of capital which is social in its origin, although held chiefly by individuals. "Society is a collectivism, or socialism, developed under the forms of individualism. Only in this way could progress come." Progress is not conscious: "By the operation of cosmic forces, and without knowledge of what is working out in their lives, primitive men are carried up from savagery and animalism into civilization." Cleavage is "the engine through which art worked out into civilization." The influence of this "cleavage" is traced in the oriental, classical and modern societies. In the author's opinion "social cleavage is one of the principal factors in the capitalization of social development." It, however, brings trouble as well as progress and has involved modern nations in the central problem of the age, that of "bringing land, labor and capital together in the freest way." The difficulty is that the wealthy own the land. On the whole, the single tax is probably the easiest way out.

AMONG THE VARIOUS treatises of recent date devoted to municipal problems few have been so practical in purpose as "Municipal Public Works," by S. Whinery.²⁰ The book is valuable not for its sociology, but for its statement of practical difficulties attending the conduct of municipal enterprises. It seems that this is just the sort of book that we may reasonably expect the average alderman or mayor to take seriously. If a contract is to be let, or an assessment to be levied, or the building of a bridge to be supervised, valuable suggestions will be found as to the expedient next step. The book is notable in that it is addressed not to the reformer or the voter or the editor, "but directly to the executive department of municipal activities."²¹

¹⁹ Pp. 325. Price, \$1.75. Columbus, Ohio: Argus Press, 1903.

²⁰ Pp. xvi, 241. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1903.

²¹ Contributed by William H. Allen, New York.

REVIEWS

Rural Sanitary Administration in Pennsylvania. A paper read in abstract before the Annual Meeting of the Associated Health Authorities of Pennsylvania at Mechanicsburg. Extracted from the Seventeenth Annual Report of the State Board of Health. By WILLIAM H. ALLEN, Ph. D. Harrisburg: W. S. Ray, 1903.

The State of Vermont, with a small and almost exclusively rural population of 340,000, contributes to the work of state sanitary administration the sum of \$10,000 per year. The people of Pennsylvania, six millions in number, through their representatives, annually appropriate only \$6,000 for the use of their State Board of Health, an amount which represents a per capita expenditure only one-thirtieth as large as that of the Green Mountain State. Pennsylvania could well afford to furnish its State Board of Health with ten times that sum, for the purpose of enabling it to carry out a single inquiry—the investigation of the sanitary circumstances and conditions attendant upon the mining industry, and the best methods of improving such conditions as are found to exist among the miners. As much more should be provided to enable the State Board to perfect, and bring into active use, a thorough system of vital statistics throughout every village and hamlet of the state, thereby making its name of Board of Vital Statistics something more than a nominal title. For this purpose, no better example can be quoted than that of Michigan, where by the energetic action of one intelligent physician, the vital statistics of the state have been brought to a condition of perfection, surpassing in many points those of the older states. Massachusetts annually expends through its state board, for the protection of the purity of its inland waters alone, a sum nearly six times as great as that which Pennsylvania gives to its State Board of Health for all purposes. With such facts in view Dr. Allen has performed for the State of Pennsylvania a useful service such as was done in earlier years for England and Scotland by Chadwick and Simon, of London, and by Russell, of Glasgow.

Dr. Allen's able monograph may be commended not only to the careful attention of every member of the legislature of his state, but also to sanitarians generally throughout the country, since the defects which are so thoroughly exposed in this piece of scholarly criticism are not confined to Pennsylvania, but exist in a greater or less degree throughout the Union. These defects are not so much those of administration as of want of intelligent appreciation on the part of the people and consequently of neglect to provide adequate appropriations for carrying out the legitimate work of a sanitary board.

The following titles of chapters show the general character of the address:

1. The Evolution of Sanitary Science.
2. The Growth of Sanitary Administration in Pennsylvania.
3. Introduction of State Control.
4. Powers of the State Board of Health and Vital Statistics.
5. The Vital Statistics of Pennsylvania.
6. Practical Results of State Control.

After reviewing the history of general sanitation in past centuries, the local history of public health in Pennsylvania is taken up and the author presents a brief sketch of the growth of sanitary administration in the state from the days of William Penn down to the establishment of the State Board of Health in 1885, an event which resulted from the Plymouth epidemic of typhoid fever, where in a small town of 8,000 there were 1,100 cases and 114 deaths, all of which were due to the pollution of the public water supply.

In the third chapter each of the principal functions of a central sanitary authority is separately treated.

In the chapter relating to Vital Statistics the writer points out the proper remedies for perfecting the system of registration: (1) The establishment of health authorities in every town in the state; (2) the establishment of county experts in statistics; (3) the enlistment of the services, either by compulsion or compensation, of every physician, midwife, clergyman, magistrate or undertaker, who may officiate at births, marriages, deaths, burials or attend upon infectious cases; and lastly, the State Board should be given funds sufficient to execute existing laws where local authorities are incompetent.

To these items we would add that much importance may properly be attached to the existence of adequate legal penalties for neglect and refusal to comply with the provisions of such laws as may be enacted, as well as the placing of the enforcement of such laws in the hands of properly qualified magistrates.

The power to abate local nuisances appears to have been conferred upon the State Board of Health of Pennsylvania. This mistaken policy is shown in the fact that the State Board of Health in a single year abated 102 local nuisances. "It must be asserted, however, that the central authority was designed for higher purposes than local scavenging." "As at present acting, our state administration of the elaborate sanitary code has degenerated into mere nuisance abatement. Central control means here local irresponsibility. Our board is discharging the same executive functions as the town constable of the time of Queen Elizabeth."

Those portions of the monograph which relate to local questions are illustrated with several valuable tables, giving the population of different groups of towns, their death-rates, number of nuisances reported, salaries of health officials and facts relating to vaccination.

S. W. ABBOTT.

Massachusetts State Board of Health, Boston.

Human Nature and the Social Order. By CHARLES HORTON COOLEY. Pp. viii, 413. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In "Human Nature and the Social Order" Professor Cooley aims to set forth "what the individual is considered as a member of a social whole." Current social theory is wrong in its treatment of the individual for a "separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience and 'society' and 'individual' do not denote separable phenomena, but are collective and

distributive aspects of the same thing." "Individuality is neither prior in time nor lower in rank than sociality—the line of progress is from a lower to a higher type of both, not from one to the other." Society "in its immediate aspect is a relation among personal ideas." "The imaginations which people have of one another are the *solid facts* of society, and—to observe and interpret these must be the chief aim of sociology." "Self and other do not exist as mutually exclusive social facts." Professor Cooley does not deny personal opposition, but claims that "it does not rest upon any such essential and, as it were material separableness as the common way of thinking implies." "Society is rather a phase of life than a thing by itself; it is life regarded from the point of view of personal intercourse. And personal intercourse may be considered either in its primary aspects, such as are treated in this book, or in secondary aspects, such as groups, institutions or processes. Sociology, I suppose, is the science of these things."

Professor Cooley has been allowed to speak for himself that some idea might be given of his method and manner. His treatment of his subject is entirely from a psychological viewpoint. The style of the book is clear and attractive, the text abounding in happy quotations. In an interesting way the author deals with sympathy, hostility, emulation, leadership, conscience, the meaning of "I," personal degeneracy, freedom.

We are indebted to Professor Cooley for a stimulating and suggestive discussion. The book must be read—and read carefully—to catch its full import. There will be many to object to his classification of sociology as a purely subjective science. In his desire to set forth the psychological elements the author seems to lose touch with the material basis both of individual and social existence. Certainly some of the motive forces do not spring from what we know as the mind. This by no means contradicts the author's claim that "any study of society that is not supported by a firm grasp of personal ideas is empty and dead."

CARL KELSEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph. D., LL. D. Pp. vii, 497. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

Professor Ely has done more perhaps than any other economist to popularize the study of economic questions, and in this, his latest addition to the Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology, he has not departed from the tradition already established in this direction. In his usual facile style he has made an excursion into that "general borderland where economics, ethics, biology and sociology meet," such as is bound to arouse popular discussion and interest. The fact that nothing new is brought out in the work and that because of its wide scope and consequent brevity but little is conclusive, does not detract from its usefulness.

The book is divided into two parts of unequal length, the first and shorter one serving as an historical sketch of the development of industrial

society, introductory to the discussion of special problems in Part II. Part I, the working out of which probably suggested the title of the book, traces the evolution of industrial organization from its beginnings in the period of savagery to its complex arrangement at the present day. The criterion of classification followed is that of change in methods of production, rather than that of the developing of successively larger industrial units, of new processes of exchange, of new types of labor or of new stages of mental development, although each of these receives a share of attention and all are helpfully grouped in a table for purposes of comparison. Society is viewed as an organism and the study of its industrial progress as but one of the many phases of its growth. Herbert Spencer's general and external interpretation of evolution is casually applied to the matter under discussion from time to time—a method, which though hardly of permanent scientific value, is yet immensely suggestive to beginners. There is much that is stimulating in the treatment of economic classes. Their existence in this country is clearly recognized; but Professor Ely with his healthful optimism sees forces at work making for the attainment of friendly and harmonious co-operation of classes. In the discussion of recent tendencies much is brought forward to bear out this view. It is questionable, however, whether he is justified in considering public ownership of natural monopolies, and private ownership with attempted public control, as respectively Teutonic and Latin in tendency.

Part II is made up in the main of a number of articles, addresses and reviews previously printed elsewhere, embodying Professor Ely's well-known utterances on a variety of topics of current interest. The first three chapters are of fundamental interest and importance, and they possess a unity of treatment that is lacking in the later portion of the book. These chapters deal with the relation of the process of evolution to race progress. Much of the literature bearing on this topic is helpfully reviewed and many apt criticisms are made. Particularly significant are various hints suggestive of lines of investigation which, if followed out, would give us some indication as to whether the race is improving or degenerating under the influence of modern altruism. On the other hand, the discussion is not always clear, and our need of a definite and fixed use of terms is nowhere more clearly shown than here. For instance, instead of the test of a good social measure being its capacity for strengthening "the individual and the group for competition [*i. e.*, for *struggle*]," the criterion should rather be that of helpfulness in furthering the process of individual and social *adaptation*.

So far as there is any central or dominating idea in the remaining chapters, it turns on the problem of monopoly and its sister questions, the integration of industry and the concentration of wealth. Although the scale of organization seems gradually to be enlarging, Professor Ely sees no reason to accept the position "that our present industrial evolution is bound to terminate in general monopoly"; and though there seems to be a tendency toward the concentration of wealth, he is extremely hopeful that the "dawning self-consciousness of society will ultimately lead to a wide diffusion of the 'advantages of civilization.'"

On the whole, apart from Part I, which might well be used in the classroom as an introduction to the study of elementary economics, it may be said of the work that its chief value lies not on the academic side, but on the side of the suggestiveness of its reasoning and of its inspiring moral tone to the more thoughtful portion of the general public.

ROSSELL C. MCCREA.

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

Social Origins. By ANDREW LANG. *Primal Law.* By J. J. ATKINSON. Pp. xviii, 311. Price, \$3.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

As the above titles indicate, this work contains the investigations of two authors. As there is no necessary dependence of the two parts it matters not which is read first. "Primal Law" traces society upward from some apelike ancestor, while the law itself is the fundamental principle in accordance with which man and society have evolved. In "Social Origins" Mr. Lang deals with "the present state of the discussion as to the beginning of the rules regulating marriage among savages," and in doing so he presents the views of McLennan, Morgan, Crawley, Frazer, Spencer, Tylor, Avebury, Westermarck, Durkheim and others. The author has views of his own which he states with clearness and force. For instance, he claims that exogamy became fully developed "when the hitherto anonymous groups, coming to be known by totem names, evolved the totem superstitions and tabus." Prior to this, it only tended to arise for various reasons, among which are enumerated sexual jealousy, sexual superstition and "sexual indifference to persons familiar from infancy." It will be seen that this view is opposed to the one presented by Mr. Atkinson in the second part of the book.

In "Primal Law," Mr. Atkinson bases his theory on the assumption that our anthropoid ancestor was unsocial. He believes that the human race descended from a single pair, and promiscuity in the primitive stage is rejected as improbable. The ancestor of man, it is asserted, lived in small communities, each with a single wife or several who were jealously guarded from all other men. Male members of the family grown to adolescence were objects of suspicion, and were driven from the group. Finally mother love asserted itself in defence of the youngest male child, and he was allowed to remain. However, this younger male member of the family was retained only on condition that the marital rights of the senior would be respected as extending over all the women of the horde. Brother and sister avoidance became absolute. Marriage of the junior member would depend upon the capture of a wife in another group and here appears the origin of exogamy. "Hence comes the evident corollary to the argument that the primal law and exogamy stand to each other in the mutual relation of cause and effect."²² By degrees, male members would be permitted to remain in the family, and these in turn would secure brides from another horde. With the growth of intelligence, the marital relations of the head of a family with the daughters

²² Page 247.

ceased, and brothers began to exchange their sisters for brides. In brief, this is the theory of J. J. Atkinson of the origin of marriage and endogamy—a theory as novel as it is interesting.

J. E. HAGERTY.

University of Ohio.

Early Political Machinery in the United States. By GEORGE D. LUETSCHER, Ph. D. Pp. 160. Price, \$1.00. Published by the author, George School, Pa., 1903.

Although popular interest in our nominating systems has greatly increased in recent years, comparatively little aside from propaganda literature has appeared on the subject. Dahlinger's standard work and that of Dr. Meyer in advocacy of direct primaries are the principal important exceptions. Dr. Luetscher's monograph, although entitled "Political Machinery," in reality deals primarily with the methods of nomination practiced up to 1825. He shows that the nationalizing of parties during Washington's second administration marked the beginning of a revolution in the methods of nomination and political campaigning. "Before this time," he says, "politics and office-holding were confined to the 'well-born,' who constituted the enlightened minority, and, as a consequence, the greatest apathy and indifference prevailed among the individual electors regarding the selection of candidates to office and the exercise of suffrage. . . . The nation was, therefore, inexperienced in democratic organization, when the administrative measures of Hamilton supplied a permanent issue upon which the people took sides." The Republicans being the newer party and having to make the most strenuous efforts for popular favor were naturally the first to adopt new methods. Nearly all the leading newspapers were Federal in sympathy. The wealth of the country and such advantage as came from political patronage at the time were favorable to the older party. Necessarily, therefore, the Republicans devoted their attention to a distinctly popular method of nominating candidates. At first the mass-meeting was the principal method adopted, but as larger numbers of the people were appealed to a more representative form of party organization had to be evolved, and the convention system came into existence. By the nature of the case the New England and Southern States were backward in adopting this new plan. In New England the town candidates were chosen in mass-meeting of the town; the state candidates were chosen by the general legislative caucus, as throughout the rest of the country. In addition to this the New England Federal leaders were opposed to any extensive party organization in peaceful times. They regarded the formation of party committees, conventions, and such machinery, as an emergency measure which might well be adapted to the vicissitudes of a revolution, but hardly permissible after the emergency had passed. In the Southern States the aristocratic cast of politics had led to traditions which forbade any extensive popular agitation. The leaders of thought largely dictated nominations. It was, therefore, in the Middle States, where popular election of county officers had become the tradition, that a county convention was first developed. Such was the efficiency of the early county convention in enlist-

ing the interest of the people that it spread rapidly throughout the more important Middle States and resulted in the permanent defeat of the Federal party in the Middle States by 1802, except in the State of Delaware, where the Federalists adopted the convention system and thereby maintained their hold on the people. It is Dr. Luetscher's aim to show that the combat between the Federal and Republican parties was more than a conflict of ideas and measures,—it was a difference in political machinery. Had the Federalists accepted Hamilton's suggestion and adopted a thorough-going popular propaganda for their principles, the author implies that they might have held the attention and support of the people as against the opposition. This standpoint differs from the conventional and accepted view regarding the two parties. Emphasis has heretofore been placed almost exclusively upon the party programs of the time and on the traditional, aristocratic leanings of the Federalists. The author does not deny the importance of these factors, but points out that the absence of proper machinery, or rather the unwillingness of the Federal leaders to make use of the perfectly proper methods adopted by their rivals, placed the former in a position of complete helplessness. This weakness of a party, whose leaders had been strongly entrenched in nation, state and city can, by no means, be fully accounted for solely on the ground of a radical change in the ideas of the people.

In the course of his argument the author gives a very interesting discussion of the early limitations on suffrage in the Middle States and has been at considerable pains to collect from the various state archives and from the early files of newspapers a number of conclusions regarding the proportion of the voters to the total population of several of the states. In dwelling upon the mechanism of parties, Dr. Luetscher has necessarily ignored to some extent the conflict of principles during the period treated, but this is incident to any special treatment of a single phase of political growth and the monograph will be found quite helpful in correcting the existing views on our early political parties.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

University of Pennsylvania.

A History of Modern Europe. By MERRICK WHITCOMB, Ph. D. Pp. 360. Price, \$1.10. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

This volume on the history of modern Europe is one of the Twentieth Century Text-books Series, in which the field of general European history is treated in two volumes, the one on the mediæval period by Professor Munro, the other on the modern period by Professor Whitcomb. Together the two volumes furnish an adequate text for European history from the time of Charles the Great to the present, though they may be satisfactorily used independently of each other. Like its counterpart, the present volume is highly successful in clear and accurate presentation of the subject; the value of the deeper insight into the history of the period which only the specialist's training can give, appears constantly. The style is much above the level of text-book writing. Unfortunately the effect of this is too often sacrificed by the great frequency with which the mechanical devices for teaching are allowed to

break the continuity of the narrative. The text-book of to-day seems to suffer from this undue emphasis upon tables, bibliographical references, source-reviews, etc. From the standpoint of the teacher this may be an advantage, but the student cannot but have his attention dissipated thereby. In justice to the present work, however, it should be said that the helps are, in so far as that is possible, carefully adapted to contribute to the continuity of ideas.

Good judgment is shown in the selection of material, and in the still more difficult task of determining on what to neglect. The chapters on the Renaissance, on Commerce and several of those on the Nineteenth Century will illustrate this. At times, however, too much is neglected and one looks in vain for facts usually considered important. In the section on France in the chapter on the Rise of the Modern Nations, there is no mention of the work of Louis XI. or of the territorial unification, an omission scarcely atoned for by the excellent treatment of the legal phases of the new institutions. The question will also arise whether the statement that the maxims of the legists of the fourteenth century, that "The King's will is law," that "All justice emanates from the King," are the fundamental principles of modern government, will not be misleading to the pupil. Occasionally the desire for detail as to personal history is yielded to, as, for example, the names of Henry VIII.'s wives with dates, when less than two pages can be spared for the Reformation in England.

The illustrations are numerous and well chosen. They do more than illustrate, for many are taken from contemporary prints or paintings, and therefore serve as primary source-materials. The same can scarcely be said of the so-called source-review appended to each chapter division. Why extracts from Carlyle's "Frederick the Great," Martin's "Popular History of France," McCracken's "Swiss Republic," Fyffe's "Modern Europe," etc., should be thus designated is not readily apparent. The fact that many excellent citations from original sources occur under this head serves only to confuse the essential distinction between primary and secondary authorities.

The general plan of the treatment is distinguished from other text-books that have preceded it in the greater emphasis laid upon contemporary history. Fully one-half of the book is devoted to the period since 1815, a distribution of space which allows a much fuller account of the nineteenth century than is usual in text-books of this size. In this the author is clearly in line with a popular tendency, and many will look upon this as one of the strong features of the book. In lamenting the contraction of the earlier centuries thereby necessitated, Professor Whitcomb expresses the feeling adequately. "Our forefathers," he says, "were content with classical, and often with mythical personages; we have been made to comprehend our Luther and Loyola, our Mirabeau and Napoleon; and our children will have to make room for their Cavour, their Bismarck and their Gladstone. It is a choice of benefits, and there are many substantial reasons why, in the building up of a system of popular education, the present should not be sacrificed to the past."

The maps interspersed throughout the book are good, and well adapted to make clear the political geography treated in the text. At the end is a list of leading events and an index.

W. E. LINGELBACH.

Americans in Process; A Settlement Study. By Residents and Associates of the South End House. Edited by ROBERT A. WOODS. Pp. xii, 389. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902.

The residents and associates of South End House have completed another valuable settlement study of Boston's crowded districts. "Americans in Process" does for the North and West Ends what the "City Wilderness" did for the South End. Beginning with a brief geographical and historical sketch, showing how the island was transformed into mainland, and the gradual growth of the network of crooked streets which provided sanitary and building problems for future generations to solve, the decadence of old Boston is outlined. The North End lost its aristocratic population in 1775, but the West End prospered as a center of homes until after 1850. First the Irish, then lodging and boarding houses in the West End, and finally an invading host of foreigners drove away the American residents; the North End becoming a city of Italians, Jews, Portuguese and a residue of Irish; the West End, the same with some negroes and a few remaining Americans.

The efforts to improve sanitary and tenement house conditions, the means of livelihood of the various races, their crimes and misdemeanors, and the influence and extent of the two ancient faiths which dominate this region—all receive attention. Political conditions with the Irish in control have a peculiar significance for these districts. The descriptions of the leaders, and their means of maintaining control, are an addition to municipal literature on the subject. The chapter on Life's Amenities—the people in their playtime and holiday garb—is sympathetically written and full of interest. "The Child of the Stranger," also, shows what the public schools are doing for these children. Seventy-five per cent never reach the eighth grade. Half the children who leave the seventh grade in June, do not reappear in September. The girls marry very young and for them correct ideas of life and freedom from superstition are especially needed. Philanthropic agencies are treated under "Community of Interest."

The careful descriptions, successful choice of material and excellent maps give the reader a good idea of this new Boston. They do more, they show the citizens of other cities how much Boston has already done to improve conditions by satisfactory legislation for tenement houses, sanitation and the removal of vicious resorts; by removing sweatshops; and by providing parks, gymnasiums, baths and improved methods in public schools. At the same time the serious obstacles to a true Americanizing process are emphasized with a word of warning that assimilation is a two-edged sword and that the whole community is affected by conditions in the North and West Ends. This is illustrated by the close connection between Dorchester and North End politicians.

The main lines indicated for social progress are: strict laws for the residue of tramps and paupers who congregate in these regions, and for the disabled; every assistance for those with ability to rise, especially an allaying of racial prejudices which hamper the bright young Jew or Italian; and for the majority, the encouragement of all kinds of associations.—trades unions, clubs, neighborhood gatherings,—and above all, industrial training, especially for the children.

Of the people themselves, the negroes present the most serious problem, and they, with the off-scouring of other nationalities, will constitute the slums. The Irish advance in a body, and they have largely left these districts. The North End is becoming the Italian stronghold, the West End will soon be in the possession of Jews. Both races are characterized by a high degree of industry, sobriety and domestic peace. For one the goal of efforts is the simple joys of life; for the other, prosperity.

EMILY FOGG MEADE.

Philadelphia.

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NOTES

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

AMERICAN CITIES

St. Louis.¹—*Street Railway Franchises.* The conditions under which street railway franchises are granted are governed by Article III of the city charter, which gives to the mayor and assembly the power to take all needful steps, in and out of the state, to protect the rights of the city, in any corporation in which the city may have acquired an interest; to have sole power and authority to grant to persons or corporations the right to construct railways in the city, subject to the right to amend, alter or repeal any such grant in whole or in part, and to regulate and control the same, as to their fares, hours and frequency of trips, and the repair of their tracks, and the kind of their rails and vehicles; but every right so granted shall cease, unless the work of construction shall be begun within one year from the granting of the right, and be continued to completion with all reasonable practical speed, and it shall be the cause of forfeiture of the rights and privileges derived from the city, of any railroad company operating its road only within this city, which shall allow any person to ride or travel on it gratuitously or for less than usual price of fare, unless such person be an officer or employee of such company.

The number of miles of lines in operation and the payments into the city treasury during the last ten years have been as follows:

| Year ending in Month of April | Number of Miles | Amount of Payments |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1894 | 296.9 | \$23,071 11 |
| 1895 | 300.8 | 29,587 10 |
| 1896 | 283.22 | 48,514 19 |
| 1897 | 299.31 | 69,817 40 |
| 1898 | 300.04 | 51,808 52 |
| 1899 | 300.13 | 81,181 30 |
| 1900 | 317.75 | 75,780 97 |
| 1901 | 336.09 | 78,861 55 |
| 1902 | 329.86 | 98,053 79 |
| 1903 | 327.86 | 105,857 78 |

The fare charged on all lines is five cents. The street railway companies of St. Louis are controlled by two corporations, the St. Louis Transit Company and the St. Louis and Suburban Railway Company. The companies give transfers over their own lines, but there is no interchange system of transfers between the two companies.

¹ Communication of James G. McConkey, Secretary to the Mayor of St. Louis, Mo.

Buffalo.²—*Railway Franchises.* Street railway franchises in Buffalo are granted under the following provision of the revised city charter, to-wit:

"The common council, by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each board, may permit the track of any steam railroad or railroad operated by any other motive power and used for purposes other than the transportation of passengers only, to be laid in, along or across any street or public ground, except park and park approaches. Nothing in this section shall prevent the common council, by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each board, from permitting the track of a street railroad used solely for the transportation of passengers within the city, to be laid in, along or across any street or public ground, except parks or park approaches, subject to the provisions of any law then existing in relation thereto."

Payments into the treasury of the city of Buffalo by street railways were made as follows:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| January 1, 1892, to June 30, 1892..... | \$15,072 06 |
| July 1, 1892, to June 30, 1893..... | 27,445 06 |
| July 1, 1893, to June 30, 1894..... | 29,962 14 |
| July 1, 1894, to June 30, 1895..... | 39,615 07 |
| July 1, 1895, to June 30, 1896..... | 45,613 74 |
| July 1, 1896, to June 30, 1897..... | 45,294 68 |
| July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1898..... | 48,219 62 |
| July 1, 1898, to June 30, 1899..... | 48,593 46 |
| July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1900..... | 51,573 80 |
| July 1, 1900, to June 30, 1901..... | 76,255 54 |
| July 1, 1901, to June 30, 1902..... | 95,760 04 |

The length of the International Traction Company's railroad lines within the city limits is 194 miles, and the rates of fare charged are five cents for an adult and three cents for a child between five and twelve years of age, children under five years being carried free.

Various companies constituting the International Traction Company give transfers over all lines for one fare.

Minneapolis.³—*Civic Improvement Associations.* Minneapolis has several societies interested in municipal improvements. Most of these organizations are local outdoor improvement associations which confine their attention to well-defined sections of the city,—their own neighborhoods. Among the oldest and most active of these is the Portland Avenue Improvement Association. It has been in existence for upwards of fifteen years and has exerted a marked influence in securing improvements in streets, lawns and parkways. It has been given the street-sprinkling contract in its vicinity by the city for some years in competition with the regular contractors. After paying for work at standard wages and with an eight-hour day, the society has saved enough from the allowance to carry on important improvement work. Among other active local associations of this kind may be men-

² Communication of Frank W. Hinckley, Secretary to the Mayor, Buffalo.

³ Communication of William A. Schafer, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

tioned the improvement associations in Sunny Side, Oak Park, Linden Hill and Prospect Park.

Besides the local associations there is one for the city as a whole, the Minneapolis Improvement League, of which Professor W. W. Folwell, of the University of Minnesota, is president, and Mrs. C. W. Keyes is secretary. This organization has been in existence since 1892. A few months ago an effort was made to get all the local societies to co-operate through the league by sending delegates to the regular monthly meetings of that organization. That plan has since been followed. The league has always worked in close harmony with the Park Board, in whose rooms the regular monthly meetings are held. During the last few years the league has awakened a very general interest among people of moderate incomes in the care of lawns, back yards and streets, also among school children in improvement and care of playgrounds and school lawns. This was done through a series of prizes for the best effects produced and through suggestions made in the public press of what might be accomplished with a little effort and attention.

Another important organization interested in municipal improvements of all kinds is the Minneapolis Commercial Club. The public affairs committee of that club, of which Wallace G. Nye is secretary, takes an active interest in all kinds of civic improvements and co-operates with the Improvement League in furthering the work of adding to the city's outdoor attractions.

New Jersey State Civic Federation.⁴—This organization is made up of various civic and municipal leagues formed in 1902, and including at the present writing seventeen clubs which bear the following:

Board of Trade, Asbury Park, N. J.; Civic Club of Newark; City Improvement Society, New Brunswick, N. J.; Civic Association of Nutley; Town Improvement Association of Montclair; Taxpayers' Association, Collingswood, N. J.; West End Improvement Association, Irvington, N. J.; Village Improvement Association, Cranford, N. J.; Vailsburgh Social Club; Civics Club of the Oranges; Citizens' Association, Morristown, N. J.; Second Ward Improvement Association, Irvington, N. J.; Board of Trade, Hammon-ton, N. J.; Town Improvement Society, Summit, N. J.; The Good Govern-ment Club, Arlington, N. J.; Civic Sanitation Association, Orange, N. J.; Orange Political Study Club.

The Federation originated in the recognition of the fact that there were certain questions which lay naturally beyond the province and power of any one civic organization, questions involving more than one municipality, such as matters of transportation, taxation, sewage disposal, the transmission of light and power, and questions of a similar nature.

The responses to the call for co-operation were very favorable, and a number of organizations joined in the formation of a state civic federation. Eighteen organizations were represented at the first meeting, which was held in Orange in the latter part of 1902. Matters were presently put in such shape as to make it possible to call a general conference lasting for two days. A number of speakers were present from various localities and an interesting

⁴ Communication of Adolph Roeder, President of the Federation, East Orange, N. J.

meeting was the result. Since its formation the State Civic Federation has received into membership a number of other organizations, and its request to mayors and executives of municipalities that they join in membership with the organization has met with favorable reception.

The general plan of the organization is to ask the co-operation of each one of its constituents in considering whatever questions may arise, preparing a digest of their considerations, and submitting that as a report to one of the meetings of the Executive Board or to the annual session of the organization.

Thus far the State Civic Federation has accomplished the following: It has created a series of committees on the following general lines: Water Supply Franchises, Taxation, Liquor Traffic, Legislative Measures, Dependents, Delinquents and Municipal Arts; it has received an able report from the first two committees on Water Supply and on Franchises. It has reason to believe that several suggestions made in the latter report have been helpful in two or three municipalities in New Jersey, in causing discussion of franchises which otherwise would have been granted without question; it has produced an interchange of thought and of opinion among its constituents which has been exceedingly useful and helpful. It took a prominent part in calling the attention of the voters to various favorable and unfavorable aspects of the special election for the purpose of adopting a constitutional amendment in reference to the judiciary of the state. Through its activity, as manifested in the press of the state, it was found that the method of procedure was illogical and that desirable as the proposed amendments may have been the method of securing them by election was one which could not be carried through. The amendments were, of course, lost, owing to the fact that no one, from the election officers to the voters, had any intelligent grasp of the directions for voting. The Federation tried to render its services to its constituents and to the state by simply calling attention distinctly to the various pros and cons connected with constitutional amendment and the method of securing it, but ventured no opinions whatever on the relative material of the various sections of the amendment, since it left that discussion to the legal fraternity who were better able to carry it forward.

FOREIGN CITIES

England.—*Sanitation of Congested Areas.*⁵ At the annual conference of the Royal Institute of Public Health, held at Liverpool, on the sixteenth of July, 1903, considerable attention was paid to the question of rehousing the poor on the outskirts of the larger cities.

In the Section on Sanitation of Congested Areas, Mr. Austin Taylor, M. P., Liverpool, presided, and said that they were only on the threshold of an enormous slum problem—a monster whose outward aspect was one of bricks and mortar, but in the interior dark with the tragic fate of men, women, and especially children, whose dreary mechanical life was only ended by death.

⁵ This account of the conference is taken from a report made to the Department of State by the American Consul at Birmingham, Hon. Marshal Halstead.

It was useless to cure plague spots in the center of the cities and to let the outlying belt grow up in a haphazard fashion. He suggested that municipalities should be allowed to buy land three miles outside their boundaries, where streets could be laid out on model lines, trees preserved, and a general style of architecture insisted upon. There must be expansion to cure congestion, and for that purpose he also advocated the compulsory acquirement of suitable areas on moderate terms, the reduction of interest on public loans for demolition and rehousing, and rating of vacant sites on their capital value, by which model dwellings could be erected at not greater rent than one shilling (24 cents) per room weekly.

Dr. James Niven, medical officer for Manchester, in a paper on "Rehousing the Poor on the Outskirts of Large Cities," said it was generally recognized an effort should be made by the sanitary authorities to house as many as possible of the poorer working-class families on the outlying parts of these districts, under the improved conditions of light, air, space, and construction of dwellings. So far, efforts in this direction had been the result of private enterprise and confined to persons above the laboring classes. A great impulse had already been given to the movement outward by the development of electric trams. With a view to housing persons displaced by sanitary and other improvements, the Manchester corporation had purchased a considerable estate in the northern limit, which is well provided with transportation facilities. A committee had just begun the development of this estate by the construction of a main road and were erecting on and adjoining this road dwellings for artisans not of the poorest class, and were taking other steps to form a new colony. Powers were being sought to enable the Manchester corporation to provide shops, schools, churches and other institutions, but a complete scheme had not yet been framed. Meantime, the Manchester corporation were endeavoring to provide model dwellings of various types which would assist in improving the future provision of houses by private enterprise. The corporation had bought Plackley estate of 237 acres at £150 (\$729.97) per acre and were erecting eighty dwellings on it at moderate rents; but a portion of the estate would not be built on, being intended for allotments. In the center of Manchester eight unsanitary areas had been dealt with, of which three were to be left open spaces, while on the other side provision had been made for 2,729 people in lieu of 3,127 displaced. Apart from the humanitarian aspect of the question, it was good finance for municipalities to remove as many people as possible from the centers of the cities to a more wholesome atmosphere and all-around better conditions of the outskirts.

Mexico.—Street Railways. The transition from horse to electric traction is still in its infancy in Mexico. In the capital city of the republic, it is true, but few horse-car lines remain, but in the larger towns of the states the old system of animal traction still prevails. It is an interesting fact that in granting franchises to street railway companies, the public authorities have very generally kept in view the cost of the service to the public rather than the return to the city treasury. As a result street railway fares in Mexico, especially in the smaller towns, are lower than in any other part of the world. Thus in Guadalajara (State of Jalisco), which may be regarded

as one of the typical towns of the second magnitude (population about 102,000), the fares within the city limits are three cents Mexican silver, which is equivalent to about one and one-third cents in American money. The fares on the suburban lines range from three to ten cents Mexican silver (one and one-third to four and one-third cents American money), in the second-class cars, according to the distance traveled. In the first-class cars on suburban lines the fares range from five to sixteen cents Mexican silver (two and one-fifth to six and nine-tenth cents American money). It is true that in most cases long-distance travel is more expensive in Mexico than in the United States, but it must always be kept in mind that the bulk of the traffic is on the lines within the city limits.

The next few years are likely to witness marked changes in the street railway systems of the larger towns. Franchises for change of motive power to electricity have been granted very generally. The utilization of the abundant water power which exists in many parts of the republic, for the production of electricity, has contributed much towards hastening this movement.

Water Supply and Sanitation of Municipalities.—One of the most striking features of recent municipal development in Mexico is the care and attention that is being given to the improvement of the water supply of the larger cities of the republic. Where the resources of the municipalities have not been sufficient to meet the expense, the state governments have stepped in to aid in the work. In two notable instances, Cuernavaca in the State of Morelos, and Guadalajara in the State of Jalisco, an entirely new water system has been constructed at the expense of the state and an arrangement entered into with the respective municipalities to pay the interest and amortization charges of the debt thus incurred.

Concurrent with the improvement of the water supply, and largely as a result of it, there has been a marked betterment in the sanitary condition of the towns. The cleanliness of most of the cities of the republic is a matter of surprise to every traveler. Within recent years the sanitary inspection of dwelling houses has been thoroughly organized, usually directed and controlled by a state board of health, with agents in every town and district. This board also exercises close supervision over food products, a matter of special importance in a country where the low rate of wages adds to the temptation to adulteration of food products in order to bring prices within the range of the consumer.

Police System.—It requires some time for the stranger to acquaint himself with the intricacies of the police system of Mexico. In addition to the municipal police of the towns, there is a state constabulary which usually does duty in the country districts, but may also be called upon to do service in the towns where the local police is unable to handle the situation. Finally there are the federal troops distributed throughout the country in those sections where their presence is likely to do most good.

The states are divided into districts with an executive head known as the *jefe politico* appointed by the governor. The *jefe politico* is responsible for the good order of the district placed under his authority. He has charge

of the local police, may call upon the state constabulary, and in case of emergency may apply to the commander of the federal troops for aid.

The excellent order that now prevails throughout most of the states of the Mexican Republic, the very general respect for life and property, are due, in the main, to the control of the state governments over the police system. To have handed over to the town authorities the management of the police force would have resulted in personal and class discriminations and would have given rise to local conflicts. At present the management of the local and state police force is conducted with exclusive view to the maintenance of order and the protection of property rights. That this service is being performed is attested by the increasing swiftness with which crime is detected and punished.

Municipal Administration.—Although Mexico is a federal republic, the system of municipal government is practically uniform throughout the several states. In this branch of the public administration, more than in any other, the influence of the Spanish system is to be found. In fact, the form of local government, as introduced by Cortez, has undergone but little change. The Mexican *ayuntamiento* does not differ materially from its Spanish prototype. Every town, whether large or small, has its council elected by what is known as the "indirect" or "second degree" system. The voters choose electors who, in turn, select the members of the council. As a matter of fact this system of indirect election gives to the state authorities considerable influence in determining who should be selected.

The powers of the council are mainly deliberative: the execution of its decisions being usually entrusted to the *jefe politico* of the municipal district—a state officer appointed by the governor and responsible to him alone. In some states, such as Morelos, the *jefe politico* is *ex officio* president of the municipal council, in others, such as Jalisco, he is purely executive officer.

It is evident that with the executive head of each municipality appointed by the governor, the state authorities are able to maintain control over local affairs. This control is further strengthened by the fact that in all the states the budget of every town must be submitted to the central government for approval before becoming effective, and in a majority of the states, all important decisions of the municipal council relating to local affairs must receive the approval of the governor.

Another important factor tending to increase the influence of the state governments in local affairs, is the small, in fact almost insignificant, income of the towns. In the main, they are dependent upon the proceeds of the municipal markets, slaughter-houses, license fees and a few local excises. Whenever, therefore, an important public work is to be undertaken, the state government is usually appealed to. The water supply of most of the larger towns, outside the City of Mexico, has been planned and constructed at the expense of the respective state governments. The debt thus incurred is usually charged against the municipality and the state reserves from the proceeds of water rents a percentage sufficient to pay the interest and amortization charges.

As a final and culminating factor in the centralization of local affairs,

some of the states, such as Jalisco, have taken over the entire public school and poor relief system, administering them directly through state officials, a director of public instruction and a director of charities. The entire expense for these services is borne by the state treasury. The adoption of this plan was made necessary by reason of the absence of a well-defined local sentiment to support these services.

Thus the traditions of Spanish and French administrative centralization have been developed in Mexico to their logical consequences. Although with each change of political system, there has been some modification of the form of local government, the policy of state control over local affairs has remained practically unchanged. Local self-government is unknown in Mexico, and there seems to be no immediate prospect of change in the direction of a more decentralized system.

In spite of the absence of local control over municipal affairs, the Mexican towns are by no means devoid of local spirit, but it is social rather than civic. The town represents a center for social intercourse and recreation rather than a corporation for the performance of public services. As a matter of fact, the main function of the town authorities seems to be to supply public amusement—such as concerts, theaters, etc. In towns of three and four thousand inhabitants the authorities will not fail to supply a public concert at least twice a week and in some places every evening. The larger cities own at least one theater and make every effort to supply the inhabitants with drama, comedy and operetta at the lowest possible prices.

This policy has created a feeling of town loyalty which is at first surprising, but is to be explained by the fact that municipal spirit in its narrower sense of attachment to the town is aroused by the recreations and amusements offered by the town to a far greater degree than by the efficiency of the more fundamental services, such as police system and water supply.

Municipal Theaters.—The authorities of the City of Mexico have recently adopted a plan intended to secure to the masses the presentation of standard dramas and comedies at popular prices. For this purpose the municipality has leased one of the leading theaters and has advertised for sealed proposals from theatrical managers. The theater is to be given rent free on condition that a certain number of plays be presented at greatly reduced prices. The government has two objects in view, first, to diminish the attraction of the dram shops and, secondly, to counteract the influence of the lower class of variety theaters. If the experiment proves successful it is likely to result in a further extension of the plan so as to include a municipal theater, which shall have as its main purpose the furnishing of elevating amusements to the people.

II. DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians.—In the year 1897, the governor of New Jersey appointed a commission to investigate the condition of defective, delinquent and dependent children in the state. This commission worked for two years on the problem. After making an investigation and reporting the result to the legislature, the commission looked about to find a remedy for the existing evils. Visits were made to leading child-helping societies all over the country and the different state systems for caring for dependent children were studied. The placing-out system seemed to give the best results.

The commission recommended establishing a State Board of Children's Guardians, which should adopt the placing-out system of caring for its wards and on March 24, 1899, the legislature passed a bill authorizing the appointment of such a board. The board is composed of seven members, two of whom are Roman Catholic and two of whom are women. Members hold office for six years—two members being appointed at the end of every two years. It will be seen that no governor can appoint more than two members, except in cases of death or resignation. They receive no compensation for their services. The board becomes the legal guardian of every child that is made a public charge, such guardianship superseding any rights of the parents so far as its custody is concerned.

A thorough investigation of the circumstances of commitment is made in each case. If no worthy parent or relative can be found the child is placed in an approved family of the same religious faith as its parents, as required by law. The law also stipulates that each child shall be visited quarterly. All children placed out are obliged to attend school according to the laws of the state. To be sure that they do, monthly reports are received from school teachers, showing attendance, standing in studies, the condition of clothes and physical condition. Quarterly reports of attendance are also received from the pastor or priest, in regard to the children's religious instruction.

A great many defective, crippled and sickly children come into the custody of the board. Those physically disabled are placed in the care of a physician, from whom they receive the necessary treatment. The mentally defective children are placed in the proper state institutions.

Children are placed in families either at board, free of charge, or for adoption. The price paid for board is \$1.50 per week and, in addition to this, clothing and medical attendance are provided. Families that take children free are required to board, furnish clothing and medical attendance. Children for adoption are placed on trial for at least six months, after which time, if everything is satisfactory to both parties, the board gives its consent to the adoption, which can be secured through the Orphans' Court. The board has

the right at any time to surrender a child to parents, if this will be for the best interest of the child.

Each year the legislature appropriates a sum of money for the administration of the work. This amount is used for salaries of agents, office expenses and travel in placing, supervising and transferring children. The expense of board, clothing and medical attendance for children placed out is borne by the community from which the child was committed.

Up to October 1, 1903, 1,517 children have come into the care of the board. Of this number, 305 are in boarding homes, 205 in free homes and the remainder, with the exception of twenty in almshouses, have been discharged from custody to parents or relatives.

The placing-out scheme has worked admirably and the benefits of a family life over the artificial life of an institution are marked. The natural family life prepares the child to take his place in the world and compete with others who have had normal home training.¹

Report of Children's Institutions Department, Boston.—An interesting and instructive report has been issued by the Children's Institutions Department of the City of Boston for 1902-03. The delinquent and dependent children becoming public charges in Boston are provided for in one of three ways. Wayward boys committed through the courts are sent to the House of Reformation, maintained by the city on Rainsford Island. Here the youthful offenders are given schooling, taught some useful trade and brought under wholesome moral influences. To the Truant School are sent those children who have become so unmanageable to parents and teachers that it is impossible to keep them in school. This institution, on the cottage plan, aims to combine, with its educational advantage, a good home training and discipline, which most of the children sadly need. The third class dealt with are the dependent and neglected, and for these has been developed a careful placing-out system. The children are watchfully supervised in families, both by regular agents from the city office and by volunteer visitors, who make sure that the children are attending school and church and being kindly treated. Those at board are visited every six weeks and those in free homes every three months. Infants and delicate children are visited monthly by a trained nurse. Mentally defective children are placed in the State Institution for Feeble Minded. At the close of the year there were 391 children in boarding homes and 308 indentured in free homes. The city is able to find country homes for crippled and deformed children by paying higher board, and the effect of healthful surroundings is so excellent that many in time become self-supporting. In glancing at the report, one is impressed by the care taken to ascertain in each case the physical condition of the child and to provide for its necessities. When boys from the House of Reformation leave that institution, they are put upon probation for a time, either in their own homes or at work. Of all those thus on probation at the end of the year, over 54 per cent were doing well and over 24 per cent were doing fairly. A number of boys and girls, former wards of the

¹ Contributed by Seymour H. Stone, Superintendent.

city, have homes of their own and are filling positions of trust and responsibility. Several are graduates of colleges and academies.

Prevention of Cruelty to Children.—A pamphlet entitled "Wie schützen wir die Kinder von Mishandlung und Verbrechen," and published in Vienna, contains an interesting account of the agitation to establish an Austrian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The author is Fräulein Lydia von Wolfring, who, through her reading and observation, became aroused to the widespread suffering of children from abusive and vicious parents, and to the lack of knowledge of the prevalence of this evil on the part of the general public. Miss von Wolfring traveled for a number of months in Italy, Switzerland, France and Austria, investigating court statistics as well as many individual cases of cruelty to children. As a result of her travels she became convinced that vigorous effort should everywhere be made to search out cases of cruelty, arrest and punish the parents and rescue the children. She admits there are many difficulties in the way, such as the strong instinctive feeling on the part of the public that parents have inalienable rights to their children, and the difficulty of presenting absolute evidence in court. She says, however, in no uncertain language, that where parents are degenerate, "modern society may, nay *must*, step between them and their victim." She points out that not to protect a child from the abuse of parents and the evils of a bad home, is only later to have an additional criminal to provide for. She draws plans for an organization for the prevention of cruelty, which shall have headquarters in Vienna with branches all over Austria. Each branch shall have a corps of workers composed of well-known reliable citizens, both men and women, who are to search out all cases of cruelty and report them to the central executive committee at Vienna. Miss von Wolfring speaks of the good work being done in other countries; notably that by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in England. During fourteen years this society has handled 281,000 children. Of these, 198,101 were neglected, 45,756 were brutally injured and 8,557 were victims of criminal assault. In 1,423 cases death resulted. In the year 1899 this society rescued 68,000 children, but in 204 cases rescue came too late. The greatest work of the English society is, perhaps, the change it has brought about in the status of the child before the law. The public has acquired an increased sense of responsibility towards the neglected and abused child and laws for its protection have been established and enforced. Miss von Wolfring points out that drunkenness is a great factor in cruelty to children—as is also infant insurance. The English society handled in five years 19,000 children, whose death would have brought the parents 95,000 pounds sterling. She speaks of the good work done by the New York society, and closes with the outline of a plan for establishing an agricultural colony on the cottage or family system, for such children as must be taken from parents, and advocates as near an approach to family life as possible.

At a meeting of the *Rhode Island Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children*, Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry said in substance: The object of this society is the rescue of the child, not its reformation. The child is the client.

The speaker told of the origin of the parent society, in the United States, nearly thirty years ago. The case was that of a little girl in New York who was beaten and maltreated. Attention of Henry Bergh, the philanthropist, was called to this, and the woman who abused the child was punished. After this, complaints became so numerous that Mr. Bergh was obliged to organize a society to take the work in hand. The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was the first of its kind in the world, but there are now 314 societies in the United States and Canada, either combining with those for the prevention of cruelty to animals, as humane societies, or existing by their specific title.

The great success of the society and its power, depends upon its corporate existence. The three-fold cord, consisting of the legal right to appear and prosecute and be heard, the corporate right to apply the donations of the charitable, and the legacies of the dead, for that purpose, and the earnest zeal of private individuals who give their time, their talents and their money to carry out the views of the society, is not easily broken. The question has been asked, "Why is it that the regularly appointed officers of the law cannot be entrusted with the enforcement of this, as well as other branches of the criminal laws?" The answer is very simple. They are necessarily occupied with the protection of the entire community and their attention is given very properly to the duties of preserving the peace of the public, and in arresting and prosecuting cases of felony.

Governor Garvin stated that originally the entire care and authority over a child rested with the parents, and perhaps this was better so. Even now there are some people who believe that the sole government should be left with parents, but the state now interferes to protect children against immoral and physical abuses.

The report of the society showed that it is doing a very effective work. Children are taken and cared for, and given a home until they are of quite mature age. Most of them are placed, not in institutions, but in private homes, a great and undoubted advantage, if these homes are what they should be and of course the officers of the society know that they are proper persons. The work is necessary and promising. As Mr. Gerry said: "A single child saved makes the expenditure of money worth while. Knowing that the work is bringing forth good, the society should be given the support of the public in the execution of its noble work."

Home Life versus Institution Life has been discussed very largely during the last six months by the daily papers of the country. There is a general desire for information in regard to home placing. In an article which recently appeared in the *New York American* the following statements were made:

"A little girl, fourteen years old, set fire to a barn in Poughkeepsie, in New York State. She is locked up as a criminal. The child had spent her life in an asylum for orphans until very recently, when she was taken as a servant by Mrs. ——. The child's photograph shows an average good face. She is kind-hearted enough, as is shown in the fact that she drove all the chickens out of the barn before setting fire to it; she said she could not bear to see them burn up. She confessed willingly that she set fire to the

barn because she wanted to have the excitement of seeing the fire engines come. This young girl will now be returned to her orphan asylum. She will go back to a scheme of life which is largely the cause of her disordered cravings, to a kind of life that ruins with its dull routine hundreds of thousands of children.

"In a big asylum, no matter how good the intentions of the management or how kind the attendants, the lives of the unfortunate children are dull beyond belief. Everything is routine, common-place, dead-level monotony. They sleep all in uniform little beds side by side, they get up, go to bed, eat, walk—do everything in one monotonous routine. And worst of all, nothing is left to their own initiative, to their own imaginations. All that makes up the happiness of an ordinary child is unknown to these poor children whom unworthy parentage or bad social conditions force into the asylums. They do not know the individual care and affection of a mother and a father. They lack the excitement that other little girls find in their dolls, or that other little boys find in dogs and rabbits and enterprises of all kinds. Within there is a craving for the amusements and interests that ought to make up the life of a child. It is no wonder that, occasionally, when suddenly freed from this horrible monotony, poor asylum children go to extremes. Then they are called criminals and returned to their prison, whereas in reality the real criminal is the fate that condemns them to a dull prison life.

"Abandoned children or others that find their way to the asylums are looked upon, although unjustly, as necessarily inferior human beings. If they were inferior it would certainly be a sacred duty, for their sake and for the sake of others, to lift them up as far as possible. This can only be done by endeavoring to individualize their lives, to give them interests, industrial and others, to bring them in contact with the children outside of the asylums. They should not be dressed in monotonous uniforms. They should all be sent to the regular open public schools. In this latter respect some of the Jewish institutions show exceptional intelligence. They send the children from their asylums to the regular public schools. It is no wonder that these children from the Jewish asylums outclass in success, subsequently, the children from institutions which condemn them to dull inside routine.

"If the boy of the asylum could go to the public school each day, mixing with other boys for several hours, going through the city street sharing the general life of the country, he would certainly be better able to compete with the world when released from his charitable prison. It will probably be said that some of the boys might run away. They would not run far; the world is none too ready to take care of runaway asylum children. Even if a few did escape from the asylum life, no great harm would be done, and much good would be done by improvement of the others.

"We build now imposing asylums for children, great structures of brick and stone, with high stone walls all around them. And many of us look at these institutions with admiration, imagining them to be beneficial. They are beneficial in one way, as they relieve the outside world of its burden and responsibility. But every one of them is a dismal prison house in which human souls are crushed, kept down and deprived of future possibilities by

deadly monotony. No wonder that the five children of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who went to the asylum for abandoned children, were never heard of afterward. Rousseau himself would never have been heard of had his youth been passed in such an asylum, instead of being passed in conversation with his father and in the free study of the world, although often under the most hideous circumstances."

Separate Courts for Juvenile and Probation Officers in Rhode Island.—The State of Rhode Island, in 1898, enacted a law requiring its criminal courts to hold separate sessions for the trial of juvenile offenders. This act prohibited the confinement of any child under thirteen years of age in any police station with adult offenders, or the commitment of any such child to prison for any offence not punishable by death or imprisonment for life. It was ordered, that at every trial of a child upon a criminal charge, there should be present an agent either of the Board of State Charities and Correction, or of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, or of the St. Vincent de Paul Society; and the court might commit a child under thirteen to the custody of either of these three.

In 1899, another step was taken, in the passage of an act empowering the Board of Charities and Correction to appoint probation officers (of whom one must be a woman), removable at will, and authorizing the courts to place both juvenile and adult offenders under the control of these officers. A proviso was attached to the act, that no compensation, except for expenses, should be paid to any official of the state, or of any society, in receipt of a salary. The state board has power to discharge inmates of the State Reform School, on probation, to live at home or in families.

Massachusetts Child Labor Law.—As the result of twenty-five years of effort in Massachusetts, a stringent law has been passed thoroughly enforcing and practically eliminating child labor for wages in the state. In the early history of this class of legislation the objection and obstruction came chiefly from parents, who were more eager to increase the family income by a few dollars than to safeguard their children. Twenty years ago cases were known of children eight years old working sixty-six hours a week in factories. Such a condition could not now be found in the state. Wise legislation has been enacted substantially increasing the age limit, so that no child under fourteen shall be employed in any factory. The great textile and other industries are conducted with marked respect for the law, and "not only are the state inspectors of factories given the duty of seeing that its provisions are enforced, but the local school officers must also see that the provisions of the statute as to compulsory education are enforced as well. The two statutes and two sets of officers supplement one another."

Commission to Report on a State Reformatory in Connecticut.—The commission appointed by Governor Chamberlain, of Connecticut, whose duty it will be to investigate the needs for the establishment of a state reformatory, is meeting with unqualified praise from the principal papers in Connecticut. The chairman of the commission is Warden Garvin of the State Prison. The other members are Thomas D. Wells, of Hartford, editor of the *Hartford Post*, and for some years a member of the Prison Board of

Directors; Senator Cornelius Tracy, who is largely responsible for the act, which created the commission; Dr. William Ford, a member of the House of Representatives and editor of the *New Haven Register*.

The commission was appointed under a very liberal act, by which they are directed to examine all laws, conditions and customs pertaining to commitments to jails and the prisons of the state and to recommend such changes as are necessary to aid in the making of a reformatory. The commission is directed to select a site for the reformatory and to prepare plans and specifications. They are given latitude in regard to the study of the general question. The sum of fifty thousand dollars is put at their disposal.

The New Penitentiary Near Paris.—At Fresnes, about eight miles from Paris (France), a new penitentiary has been opened, the largest in the world, accommodating two thousand inmates. The buildings with the gardens cover half a square mile, the situation is beautiful and healthy. The houses have large windows and plenty of them, admitting plenty of fresh air and sunshine. A large number of shower baths are scattered throughout the buildings; the prisoners' food is abundant. They go to school and are allowed to work at their trades, and with the money earned to purchase any luxury they may select but tobacco. In fact, everything possible is done to develop the better side of their natures. The prisoners are kept separate, holding no communication with each other, so that they cannot recognize each other when released.

The Annual Meeting of the Connecticut State Prison Association elected Hon. Francis Wayland president for the twenty-seventh time. Among the names of the officers are Professor Henry W. Farnam, Elijah J. Steele, General Edward Harland and others. Their report shows 318 prisoners assisted by the association, in addition to this thirty-one from the jails were aided. The prisoners were given clothing and transportation to their homes, or to places where they could be employed, tools to enable them to work at their trades, and many were furnished board while employment was being secured for them. Great emphasis was laid by Secretary Taylor, in his report, upon the need of adapting the present system of sentencing to conform with the Indeterminate Sentence Law. As it is now, many prisoners come into prison with sentences so arranged that it is impossible to apply the principles of indeterminate sentence. In the case of a sentence of not less than ten nor more than twelve years under the operation of the Commutation Law the prisoner by good conduct earns 930 days and receives his discharge without parole before the minimum part of his sentence is reached. In cases of this kind it is not possible to apply the parole test. The same holds in sentences of not less than one year.

The probation system of the state is under the direction of the association, and up to September 30 they had appointed thirty-seven probation officers, two of them women. These officers have had, as yet, only two months' experience in the service. A probation committee from the association was appointed, to whom all questions concerning the probation service is to be referred.

The Whipping-Post in Delaware.—Two white and twelve black prisoners

were publicly whipped in the yard of the county workhouse of Wilmington on September 26, after which they were compelled to stand for an hour in the pillory, and were then "taken back to the workhouse to serve ten sentences of six years each." One wonders what the subsequent process of reformation in the workhouse will be, and whether the authorities have any theory of punishment or of reformation? What are the results of their strenuous method of correction? Does it, in fact, act as a deterrent? Is crime less prevalent in Delaware than in other states which have outgrown the whipping-post era of progressiveness? Is recidivism less frequent in Delaware than elsewhere? Are crimes of violence fewer proportionately than in other states? Or is there anything peculiar to the citizens of Delaware which necessitates this survival of mediæval methods of punishment? The questions raised above are thoroughly practical and they interest all who are concerned in the treatment of criminals.

"Jewish Charity."—In October appeared the first number of *Jewish Charity*, a monthly review published by the United Hebrew Charities of New York City, of which Dr. Lee K. Frankel is one of the editors. In an interesting opening article the editors point out the need of hearty co-operation among philanthropic Jews, which it is hoped the new publication will stimulate. Jewish charitable effort has its own field distinct from other philanthropic enterprises; first, because the needy Jew turns more readily to his brethren in faith, and, second, because the Jews of the upper classes have tacitly determined not to permit their poor to become objects of state charity. But, despite the fact that the Jews constitute one-fifth of the population of Greater New York, hitherto "all theoretic discussion of Jewish pauperism from anything like a scientific standpoint has emanated from persons not of the Jewish race." It is the editors' hope that with the publication of *Jewish Charity* the Jews themselves will be influenced to give a closer attention to the sociological conditions of their poor. It is the purpose of the new review to keep track of publications on Jewish charitable topics and of new men in Jewish charitable institutions and to record the work and progress of the United Hebrew Charities. This number contains also an article by Dr. Frankel on "Co-operation on the East Side," giving the outline of a proposed plan by which there shall be a number of district committees on the East Side, composed of intelligent residents of that section, to assist the officers of the United Hebrew Charities to care for the poor. Maurice Fishberg has an article on consumption, the increase of which, among Jews, he attributes to overcrowding in tenements and sweatshops. Attention is called in this number to the new Winter School of Philanthropy in New York, and an outline of the proposed course is given. All interested in philanthropic work and in the intelligent discussion of its results and its needs will welcome *Jewish Charity* and wish it success.

Graft.—Several very interesting articles have appeared in various magazines of late exposing corruption in the administration of the municipal affairs of certain American cities. None of them have attempted to show the historical origin of this corruption. A treatise on the history of graft would form a valuable addition to current sociological literature, but it

would be a task of enormous difficulty to gather and arrange the materials for it.

Political influence is the result of the possession of power to influence political action. In a democracy, it is conditioned upon the ability to deliver votes at a popular election. Its extent is measured by the number of votes controlled, whether in a state, county, city, ward or precinct; just as financial power depends upon pecuniary resources and credit.

Many considerations affect the voter: his principles, prejudices, sentiments; and above all, his interests. The average man votes for the measures and the men whose victory will, he thinks, add to his worldly wealth, or insure him official position of some sort. No man knows the truth of this observation so well as the trained politician, with the possible exception of the professional corruptionist. Between these two there is apt to be a mutual understanding, if not a formal alliance.

There are, therefore, two principal methods of influencing elections: the purchase of votes, by the direct use of money, and the holding out to the voter the hope of office, in the event of political success. The governor of one of the largest and most powerful states in the Union once said to the writer, in all candor and sincerity, that, from his point of view, the practical objection to civil service reform is that it deprives the party of one of these resources, and that its tendency, therefore, is to place practical politics on the lower level of actual bribery.

In the conduct of a political campaign, money is a necessity, for legitimate uses, in order to pay the cost of printing and of public meetings, and of making preliminary canvasses and "getting out the vote." But a large portion of the funds raised ostensibly for these purposes is in fact paid to voters. Where such funds are swelled by means of a resort to political assessments upon office holders and upon candidates for office, which is an almost universal practice, those who are held up and blackmailed naturally expect to get their money back, by hook or by crook, and they very often do so. They repay themselves for their outlay, if they have an opportunity, with interest far in excess of the legal rates.

Men who are not themselves dishonest wink at these practices, because their consciences have become blunted by familiarity with them, and because opposition to them involves risk without the hope of corresponding and compensatory personal advantage. When an election cannot be carried by the aid of promises and of cash, there remain the two resources of fraudulent voting and falsifying the returns, thus defeating the popular will, which is virtual treason, one of the highest of crimes.

So much for corruption in elections. What of legislative corruption, and corrupt executive administration?

Let us first speak of the latter, because it is purely official, and begin with the question of appointments to subordinate executive positions.

Nothing can be clearer than that the carrying out of corrupt bargains is itself corruption. The downfall of the Roman Empire is traceable to the sale of offices. Yet political patronage, even in free America, is regarded as a personal asset, a perquisite. Senators and Representatives in Congress

boldly say to the President, "This appointment belongs to me"; and against the names of the employees in the departments at Washington entered on the secret official registers are placed the names of those at whose request they have been appointed. A Senator went, one day, to a former member of the Cabinet and said, "Mr. Secretary, I want Blank appointed to a position in this department." "But, Mr. Senator, there are no vacancies." "Make one, then!" The secretary touched a bell, called a messenger, and sent for the appointment book, which he handed to his unwelcome visitor, with the remark, "Choose the man to be discharged;" which the Senator refused to do, and went away disgruntled. He wanted the secretary to pluck his chestnuts from the fire, not to involve himself in a row with a colleague. If political recommendations for appointment were of qualified persons only, the evil would not be so great; but qualification for the discharge of their duties is too often a minor consideration. Competitive examinations, intended to operate as a bar to improper appointments, are after all an ineffectual check upon the practice here complained of.

This practice pervades all branches of our complex political system. It prevails in states, counties and municipalities. The appointees acknowledge and recognize a divided dependence, a double obligation; to the power behind the appointing power first, and after that to the duties devolving upon them by law. Discipline is rendered difficult, and tends to become lax. The public does not get value received for the salaries paid. It cannot be otherwise.

The root of the maladministration of so many of our public charitable and correctional institutions is here laid bare. The well-being of the inmates is sacrificed to the greed of place-hunters and the corrupt facility of those who have places to give.

As to legislative corruption, it is hard to estimate its amount, because it is not easy to unearth it. One thing is clear; there would be no bribe-takers, if there were no bribe-givers. The latter are equally guilty with the former, no matter what anodyne they may administer to their consciences.

City councils and county boards are legislative kindergartens—training-schools for the general assembly; and state legislatures are a primary class for Congress. The lessons learned in them affect the pupil's entire subsequent career.

The corrupt (or at least the corrupted) members of a legislative body usually constitute a small minority, but they may hold the balance of power. The larger the area (measured in population or in square miles) represented in this body, the less of corruption; this is the rule, with occasional exceptions.

Much unmerited obloquy has been heaped upon the heads of legislators, because of the combinations by which so many important measures are passed. Compromise and concession are essential in all associated human activity. Combinations are not corrupt, unless they spring from corrupt motives or have a corrupt purpose.

One fertile source of legislative corruption, especially in our city and county governments, is the exercise of the powers of appointment and administration by them. A legislative body should, in theory at least, have

no patronage at its command. If this were the universal practice, the county and municipal institutions of most states would be better than they are.

Finally, no survey of the actual situation is complete which does not take account of the fact that politicians and public functionaries, in favoring graft, reflect the will of their constituents. Two classes of citizens are benefited, as they imagine, by dishonesty in the administration of government; first, the petty thieves; and, second, business men with schemes for whose successful execution political action is essential, as, for instance, in the form of charters granted, or special privileges of some description, for which they are willing to pay. To these must be added such as believe that the toleration of open and flagrant immorality attracts rural customers, and so adds to the wealth of the community. In a city notoriously corrupt, a gentleman who had exceptional opportunities for knowing what goes on beneath the surface of public affairs, being himself employed as counsel for a department of the government, once said to me, that if the people of that municipality were given, for a single term, a government absolutely honest in all its dealings with individuals and with the public, they would bury it, at the next election, beyond the hope of resurrection.³

The National Humane Association.—When the American Humane Association holds its annual meeting early in November, a carefully prepared plan to convert it into a huge national organization will be presented and probably adopted. This association has existed for many years as an annual convention of societies for the prevention of cruelty—and nothing more. Their delegates attended to exchange views, ask questions and receive information about their common work. No meeting except this annual one was ever held. During the recess a feeble attempt was occasionally made by its officers and committees to print and disseminate humane literature, but never with any marked success; first, for lack of funds, as people generally prefer to sustain the direct legitimate work of prevention as conducted efficiently by our societies in their respective states; and, second, because the newspaper and magazine literature is all that is required at the present time for the purpose. Last year some of those very active in the association prepared and urged an incorporation of the association as a national body, with practically the same features as the one now to be adopted. (1) The name is to be changed to "THE NATIONAL HUMANE ASSOCIATION." (2) Individuals and not societies are to be the incorporators. (3) The incorporation is to be in the District of Columbia. (4) Its work and purposes are those of our present existing societies. (5) Which it is to stimulate and urge in enforcing laws and orders. (6) It is to aid in securing legislation. (7) It is to disseminate literature and in "extension of humane ideas" is to distribute and give away "humane pictures, lanterns, slides, medals, and other things"! (8) The bill then authorizes the creation of a board of trustees to receive and hold property *including legacies*, with limited personal liability. Lastly (9) the bill authorizes the appointment of agents to enforce the laws governing the transportation of animals, a work peculiarly within the province of our state societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

³ Contributed by Frederick Howard Wines.

If this bill should become a law, over a million dollars would be needed to make the plan in the slightest degree effective. Where is the money to come from? The usual answer in the organization of a trust is made,—“it will come in due time.” How far a credulous man might be willing to donate liberally to such a corporation for such purposes remains to be seen. One thing is certain, the treasuries of our own societies stand a fair chance of suffering from legacies diverted from them to this huge anti-cruelty trust.

Now as to the bill, generally. Its object is to create a grand national corporation for the prevention of cruelty to animals and children in humble imitation of a national society for the prevention of cruelty to children in England, which, under a different form of government, stands on a very different footing. The limited territory of England compared with that of our country renders such a corporation feasible under the English law. Here the work in one state alone exceeds that in England in a year. True, the liberality of the English people in the cause of humanity is alike large and certainly most commendable; but they have only one society to support, which derives no revenue from the Crown and legacies to it do not detract from any other humane work. But the corporate object of this “Trust” is really to interfere with the work of our societies throughout the United States. It absorbs the object of their creation and they are simply made the exponent of its ideas. As in similar trusts, they retain their corporate existence, but really are directed and governed by the trust. The measure is a very dangerous usurpation of the right of individual states to create corporations therein for the enforcement of their own state laws. Congress has nothing whatever to do with the penal laws of any state nor with their enforcement. The subject does not properly belong to the Federal Government. The proviso in the bill for meeting anywhere in the United States is without a precedent. To create such an irresponsible corporation, with a mere agent located at Washington for the purposes indicated, is not only mischievous in theory, but deadly in results. Inexperienced and untried men will annoy our societies by perpetual suggestions and interference with local legislation; for while in general our anti-cruelty laws are uniform, yet the nature and extent of these acts necessarily differ in the localities which they affect.

The New York convention of our societies recently repeated their disapproval of the whole scheme and refused to send delegates or proxies to the ensuing annual meeting of the American Humane Association. The parent society of the whole world, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, has also very forcibly defined its opposition to the measure, which, if carried, will probably disrupt the whole association as now constituted. Trusts of any kind are not popular at the present time. Their extension into the domain of philanthropy is to be dreaded.^a

The National Prison Congress of 1903.—The Annual Congress of the National Prison Association was opened this year at Louisville, Ky., on the evening of Saturday, October 3, and adjourned on the following Thursday. The value of such a gathering, as was insisted at the closing session, is to

^a Contributed by Elbridge T. Gerry.

be found in its influence, first, upon the delegates in attendance; second, upon the community in which its discussions are held, and third, upon students and the reading public, through the ultimate publication of its proceedings. The second of these forms of usefulness has always been regarded as of special importance, so that the prospect of it has determined from time to time the choice of the place of meeting. In this instance, as in some earlier years, the results in this respect have been disappointing. The attendance of citizens of Louisville was small. The great Kentucky Horse Show, the neighboring drill camp of the state militia, and the city campaign for municipal offices, all of which competed for their attention, diverted them from it, and eclipsed it as attractions and as subjects for comment. Yet a number of thoughtful minds were won by the discussions to a new and real interest in the reform of penal law and of its administration; and it may be hoped that this interest will, in some cases, be permanent. It must be confessed, however, that no such impression was made by the congress upon the public opinion of Kentucky, as its managers had been justified in expecting.

In every other respect, this annual congress was by far the most important and successful ever held. Almost two hundred delegates were on hand, representing twenty-four states of the Union and the Dominion of Canada. Sixty-eight of these are wardens, jailors, or, under some other title, executive officers of penal institutions, in direct personal charge of their inmates. Thirty-nine, at least, are state officers or members of boards, in control of such institutions. Among the rest were judges of criminal courts, sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys, probation officers, and others charged with the administration of penal law. There were also delegates from private associations and societies for the protection of dependent children and of discharged convicts, and a number of representative students of social science. But the constitution of the congress is changed indeed, since the time, only a few years ago, when it consisted almost wholly of volunteer philanthropists; when not five prison wardens in the United States could be persuaded to enter it; and when the actual custodians of the condemned, and the "practical-minded" public at large, were almost unanimous in the chilling indifference with which they regarded the small school of "sentimental theorists" calling themselves the National Prison Association.

If such founders of the association as Dr. E. C. Wines, of New York, and Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, could now return to life and look upon the institution they created, the great surprise for them would lie in the character of the prison wardens who are its main support. To keep in subjection by force and terror a throng of desperate outcasts, to make their compulsory labor profitable to the state, while the law holds them in bondage, and then to turn them out, one by one, to choose between the hopeless struggle of the jail-bird for decent existence and a return to crime—was this ever the ideal of a just and efficient prison-keeper? If so, no one would suspect it, on seeing the wardens and superintendents in this gathering. Every man of them seems to be in the work because of his belief in the capacity, even of fallen humanity, for good. Every one of them seems to be an earnest student of his profession, seeking light from all sources upon the best methods, in

its practice, of serving the state and its wards. Among them are men of personal power, of broad culture, of original thought and of a large benevolence; characters which would administer with honor and distinction any private or public trust. And out of their rich experience and practical studies they contributed many papers and discussions which will give permanent value to the volume of proceedings.

Among the questions which received special attention, and excited the greatest interest, were these: By what methods and agencies can the state act most efficiently in preventing crime? What can be done to make public schools more useful in training children for citizenship? How should "tramps" be dealt with, especially upon the railroads? What is the value of the probation system, as now on trial in many states, after the example of Massachusetts; and how far can the principle be extended to advantage? To what extent is discipline in penal institutions injured by political influences? How can public opinion be aroused to the necessity of making all appointments for fitness alone? What can be done to prevent jails and prisons in which short terms are served from continuing to be the recruiting agencies of the criminal class? How far can industry, orderly discipline, and moral influences be introduced and maintained in them? What measures should be taken by the Federal and state governments to remedy the confusion and worthlessness which now prevail in criminal statistics; and to secure a trustworthy collection and treatment of them? What improvements can be made in the laws for the disposition of professional, habitual and hereditary criminals?

But, indeed, there are few topics, in the whole range of law and administration relating to crime, which were not illuminated in some degree by the discussions. The chief qualification to the satisfaction felt in these was the sense of incompleteness; the lack of time. Had the valuable papers and memoirs, prepared in advance of the meeting, been printed and placed in the hands of members on their arrival, so that they could be studied at leisure, and the hours of the sessions be given to criticism, application and debate, the congress would have been far more fruitful. It is to be hoped that this method will be adopted hereafter.⁴

⁴ Contributed by Charlton T. Lewis.

INDEX OF NAMES

ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *n.*, note by the person named; *r.*, review by the person named.

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